

"IF ONLY WE WERE AS WELL CARED FOR AS THEM TARHEELS": THE
NORTH CAROLINA QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT 1861-1865

By

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A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Western Carolina University
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts

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Date: December 16, 2005

Fall 2005
Western Carolina University
Cullowhee, North Carolina

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, for how He has so richly blessed me and guided me throughout this process. He has provided for me both inside and outside the classroom in ways too numerous to count. I thank Him for His presence in my life and for the many prayers He has answered. To God be the glory for the great things He has done.

To my lovely and precious wife I owe a lifetime of gratitude for the sacrifices she has made which have allowed me to pursue this degree. She unselfishly continued to work and provide for us while I was in school. She always offered uplifting and encouraging counsel when I felt overwhelmed or burnout. Without her loving support and sacrifice I would never have been able to begin, much less complete, this journey. She put many things on hold in her life for my benefit and simple words cannot express my gratitude to her. She is a beautiful woman inside and out and a true blessing from God.

To my parents I owe a debt of gratitude as well. They provided me with a means of making a living and kindly allowed me to work when I could fit it into my schedule. They were always there when I was short on money or in a tight spot and never complained about having to help us out. Similarly, I would like to thank my in-laws for their support. Along with helping us financially, they helped us out in so many different ways I would not know where to start listing them. The Lord has blessed me with a

wonderful set of parents and in-laws for which I am very grateful. To each of you I would like to say a heartfelt thank you.

I would have never made it through this thesis without the help and guidance of Dr. Richard D. Starnes. He did a remarkable job mentoring me through the composition of this thesis. Dr. Starnes toiled many tireless hours with this manuscript in an effort to improve its structure and quality. He always made time for me when I had questions or concerns and treated me as a colleague, not as a student. He provided me with a wealth of scholarly direction and while working under his supervision I have been able to mature as a historian. It was an honor to work with Dr. Starnes throughout the composition of this thesis and I would like to express my appreciation to him.

Likewise, I would like to acknowledge Dr. James A. Lewis and Dr. David R. Dorondo for their willingness to serve as members of my thesis committee. I am grateful for their scholarly insight and direction which resulted in the overall improved quality of the finished composition. I would like to thank all three of these gentlemen for the time they spent with me and for the confidence they showed in me by attaching their names to my work. I have learned a great deal from each of you and feel honored and grateful to have had you be a part of this thesis.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the entire Department of History at Western Carolina University. I have learned so much from so many of you. To Dr. McRae, Dr. Dorondo, Dr. Starnes, Dr. Graham, Dr. Blethen, Dr. Macaulay, and Dr. Denson it was a joy to have you as an instructor. Through your classes I was able to absorb historical and methodological knowledge as well as tips and strategies I will utilize someday as an educator. I would also like to thank my fellow classmates at WCU

for their friendship and camaraderie. To all my classmates, I would also like to say thanks for your kind words of encouragement and support as well as the memories I am sure I will never forget. I would like to especially thank Patrick Willis for being a close friend throughout this process. He, like many others, offered valuable advice during difficult times and listened without complaint to my long monologues on the North Carolina quartermaster or some political event of the time while we carpooled to class. Thanks for being a friend.

To the staff at the North Carolina State Archives I owe a heartfelt thank you. They were always friendly and helpful with any request or questions that arose. With their help I was able to locate information vital to my research within the sea of information and records available from the quartermaster's department in their collection. These knowledgeable and talented individuals were a vital asset to me during my research there. To each and every one of them I am grateful.

I would also like to thank the Graduate School staff at WCU for their hospitality and helpfulness through this process. I would especially like to thank Pat Wike and Karen Nicholson for always handling my questions or concerns in a friendly manner. I would like to thank Kathleen Owen for helping whip my thesis into shape before it went to the publisher and her patience in being willing to communicate with me long distance. To all of you I would like to say, I appreciate your kindness and patience with me.

Lastly, to all of those who have offered words of encouragement, friendly advice, and words or a means of support, I would like to say thank you. This includes many of those listed above and many of whom I have forgotten to mention. However, I am

grateful for your confidence in me and your words of support and encouragement went a long way in helping me through this process.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Tables	viii
Abstract	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter One: The North Carolina Quartermaster	7
Chapter Two: Domestic Operations	43
Chapter Three: Foreign Operations	73
Conclusion	114
Bibliography	124
Appendices	129
Appendix A: Contract Terms between John White and the State of North Carolina	130
Appendix B: John White's Commission	132
Appendix C: Terms of Cotton Bonds Sold in Europe	133
Appendix D: Contract between Alexander Collie & Company and The State of North Carolina	134

List of Tables

Table	Page
1. Clothing Allowance per Soldier.....	25
2. North Carolina Quartermaster Production for January 13 - March 14, 1865	41
3. Woolen Mills in North Carolina - 1862.....	56
4. Cotton Mills in North Carolina - 1862.....	56
5. Other Cotton and Woolen Mills in North Carolina	58

Abstract

“IF ONLY WE WERE AS WELL CARED FOR AS THEM TARHEELS”: THE NORTH CAROLINA QUARTERMASTER’S DEPARTMENT 1861-1865

Daryle Hogsed, M.A.

Western Carolina University, December 2005

Director: Dr. Richard D. Starnes

The accomplishments of North Carolina during the American Civil War span from the battlefield to the home front. The state distinguished itself militarily in a manner which it had never before nor has since. The Tarheel banner states the proud and proven accomplishments of the state’s soldiers on the battlefield as “First at Bethel, Furthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, Last at Appomattox.” In the process of accomplishing these tasks on the battlefield, the state lost twice as many of its native sons as any other Confederate state. These facts are widely known among even the most casual of Civil War enthusiasts, but what is not known are the accomplishments of the North Carolina Quartermaster’s Department.

During the early days of the Civil War, the Confederate government used the commutation system to clothe its troops while its Quartermaster’s Department was being established and was in the process of organizing its efforts. The commutation system called for the volunteer soldiers to provide their own clothing for which the Confederate

government would reimburse them at a rate of \$21 every six months.¹ While the Confederate government was utilizing the commutation system, the North Carolina General Assembly passed a resolution which required the governor to establish an arrangement with the Confederate government whereby the state would supply its own troops with clothing and equipment. An agreement was arranged between the two parties that called for the state to supply clothing for its own troops for which it would be reimbursed by the Confederacy annually at a rate of \$50 per soldier. Following this agreement, North Carolina began to establish a means of supply for the troops in service to the State.

By the fall of 1862, the Confederacy was already attempting to put an end to the arrangement. However, North Carolina's governor, Zebulon B. Vance, was unwilling to turn over control of the state's quartermaster activities to the Confederacy. Vance held to his position throughout the war and never surrendered control to the Confederacy. The state continued to supply its troops until the wars end in 1865.

The accomplishments achieved by the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department will be examined in this study. It will illustrate the organization, structure, and supply practices of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department. It will also examine the means to the end of the department's success by analyzing its domestic and foreign operations. The findings of this study will show that the effort undertaken by North Carolina to supply its troops during the Civil War was a success. It will also

¹ This rate of reimbursement was later increased to \$25 dollars every six months.

demonstrate that the success of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department was a collaborative effort between the state authorities and the citizenry of the state.

Introduction

One evening while working on this thesis with the History Channel broadcasting in the background, a program host made a statement which immediately caught my ear when he said “amateurs study battles and their outcomes, professionals study logistics.” This was a refreshing and uplifting statement from a retired military general while in the process of conducting a study on logistics during the American Civil War. While the statement made was the personal opinion of the host, there is some truth to it. Logistics are the behind-the-scenes operations that often decide the outcome of a battle or military campaign. The individuals that perform these logistical jobs know how critical the success of their task is and the impact that their performance has on the performance of others. These tasks are often ignored or only briefly discussed in works of history that heap all the brilliance and glory of a military success on a commanding general.

The concept of logistics is as old as warfare itself. It is one of the most misunderstood and least written about fields of military history. Yet logistics affect the strategy of nations, military tactics, and the daily lives of soldiers through a means of supply, transportation, maintenance, and various other military support services. One of these support departments of utmost importance is the quartermaster’s department. The quartermaster’s department is responsible for numerous tasks which are almost too numerous to list. Taking that into consideration, this study will focus on the quartermaster’s distribution of clothing and equipment to examine the individual soldier

in the field. It will narrow the focus further to the performance of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department during the American Civil War.

Similarly to the concept of logistics, very little has been written on the quartermaster's department and its contribution and impact on the history of warfare. One of the most notable works on the quartermaster's department in the history of the United States military is Erna Risch's *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775-1939* as well as her two volume work *The Quartermaster Corps: Organization, Supply, and Services*. Both of these texts clearly define the role of the quartermaster and provide the reader with an understanding of its importance and significance to the operations of the U.S. military. They trace the growth and evolution of the Corps including the changes in responsibilities, as well as the methods and procedures it developed in order to execute these functions. Risch writes that the department was "primarily responsible for the transportation of men and supplies when it was established in 1775" but by 1939 "had become a supply service that procured and distributed clothing, rations, and equipment." These works are the most comprehensive and detailed examinations of the United States Quartermaster's Department.¹

Bringing the historical literature closer to the focus of this study is Richard Goff's *Confederate Supply*. Goff details the operations of the Confederate quartermaster, ordnance, commissary, and medical departments in his study of supply. He describes the interaction between these supply departments as well as their interactions with

¹ Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps 1775-1939* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1989), v.

individuals such as Confederate Secretaries of War and the Confederate President, Jefferson Davis. His work provides extensive coverage of the duties and responsibilities of the Confederate quartermaster's department and describes the establishment and layout of the Confederate quartermaster's supply and manufacture depot system, the numerous reorganization of the department, and the method of purchasing supplies from the states. While *Confederate Supply* does not cover the interaction between the Confederate quartermaster and North Carolina, it does provide an understanding of the operations of the Confederate quartermaster which in turn can be compared and contrasted to those of the North Carolina quartermaster's department.

Along the same lines as *Confederate Supply* is James L. Nichols, *The Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi*. This text covers much of the same data as Goff's, but it does provide some particulars which are overlooked. Similar to Goff's work, there is very little information in this book on the interaction between the Confederate quartermaster and the state of North Carolina or its quartermaster's department. However, it does demonstrate how the branches of the Confederate quartermaster functioned which allows the reader to see the operations of the Confederate quartermaster scaled down to a military department. By doing so, it is easier to decipher the similarities and differences between the operations of the Confederate and North Carolina quartermaster's departments.

A relatively new work which delivers the most thorough and precise examination of the interaction between the North Carolina and Confederate quartermaster departments is Harold S. Wilson's, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War*. Unlike Nichols and Goff, Wilson places his emphasis on Southern

manufacturing and its contributions to the Confederate war effort. He attempts to establish limitations to the generalization that the South was without industry during the American Civil War. His work details the interaction between these manufacturers and the quartermasters from the state and central governments. Wilson provides extensive detail on the interaction between the Confederate and North Carolina quartermasters as well as the relation between the Confederate and North Carolina governments in general. He examines the operations of the North Carolina and Confederate quartermasters within North Carolina providing extensive information on the manufacturing base of the state. It is a great source of data on the manufacturers and manufacturing firms of North Carolina and how they functioned to meet the demand placed upon them by both the state and national government. Wilson utilizes sources which allow him to give the reader a look into the daily operations of the mills and the hours worked and wages paid to the mill employees. This is one of the few works available that demonstrate the contributions made by civilians to the war effort and that details their importance to the operations of the quartermaster.

Narrowing the focus even further are a few works which pertain to the North Carolina quartermaster's department. The most notable of these being volumes one and five of Walter Clark's, *Histories of Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina 1861-1865*. In volume one of this five volume set, the office of the Adjutant General and the Quartermaster are described by Major A. Gordon who served as an

assistant Adjutant General during the war.² Gordon offers an insight to the organizational and operational structure of each department. The information on the adjutant general is pertinent due to the fact that the quartermaster's department operated under the auspices of the adjutant general's office. It describes the organization of the adjutant general's office as well as biographical information on adjutant generals who served the state. In the narrative on the quartermaster's department, important information such as the names of department operatives and their duties, quartermaster returns, and information on blockade running activities are briefly discussed. Although the account is brief, it contains very important information and offers many leads to other avenues of research. In volume five of the work, the activities of John White, North Carolina's purchasing agent in Britain, are detailed extensively using White's correspondences with Governor Zebulon B. Vance. Crucial data are provided in these correspondences which help bring White's mission to Britain alive by providing important events, dates, and personal analysis of the venture. Also covered in volume five are accounts relative to North Carolina's blockade running operations and its famous blockade running steamer the *Advance*. Clark's histories are additionally important because they are written by individuals who experienced these events firsthand.

Another historical work pertaining to the North Carolina quartermaster's department is Elizabeth Yates Webb's essay from April 1932, "Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861-1865" printed in the *North Carolina*

² In North Carolina's state military organization, the quartermaster's department was a sub-department of the Adjutant General's office.

Historical Review. This work is a vital contribution to the available literature on the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department. Like Wilson's *Confederate Industry*, it provides data on North Carolina cotton manufacturers and mills. When the war broke out, North Carolina had the largest textile production base of any state in the Confederacy, and this essay provides detailed information on many of these manufacturers and their interaction with the state and Confederate governments.

This study of the performance of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department will use the works above in combination with many others sources to demonstrate that that department functioned admirably and with success between 1861-1865. It will further show that the action taken by North Carolina officials to operate and sustain a state quartermaster throughout the American Civil War was a benefit to the North Carolina soldier. In order to establish these facts, the study will examine the organization and structure of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department, the operations of the department, the domestic production of the state utilized by the quartermaster, and the foreign operations of the department.

This study will also demonstrate the role which was played by the state authorities and the state's citizens in the process of supplying North Carolina troops with clothing and equipment during the Civil War. The department of the quartermaster is one of the few military departments which interacted directly with the citizenry. Therefore, it was a combined effort of the state military structure and its citizens which resulted in the success of the North Carolina quartermaster's department. It was the resolve of the people that their troops be the envy of the Confederate army and through their hard work and sacrifice they were able to achieve this result.

Chapter One

The North Carolina Quartermaster

The most overlooked aspect in the study of military history is one of the most important – logistics. Without logistics wars could not be waged for a sustained period of time and long military campaigns would not be possible. The term logistics in the military sense is defined as “the creation and sustained support of combat forces and weapons. Its objective is maximum sustained combat effectiveness.” Logistical responsibilities include “the direction and coordination of those technical or functional activities which in summation create or support the military forces.”¹ The unfortunate aspect of the lack of attention given to logistics in historical works is that often the true brilliance of a historical event is lost. Logistics are often the deciding factor in a battle or a military campaign but are rarely given the credit they deserve in determining the outcome. There are numerous aspects of logistics. One of the most important is the practice of keeping an army supplied with clothing, shoes, equipment, and various other necessities. This aspect of logistics is the responsibility of the quartermaster. The office of the quartermaster conducts many of the tasks vital to the army. The quartermaster’s responsibilities include, but are not limited to, transportation of the army, transportation

¹ Henry E. Eccles, *Logistics in the National Defense* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1959).

of army supplies, procurement, manufacture, and issuance of clothing, shoes, and equipment, processing and distribution of soldiers and officers pay, and the supply of army draft animals and their forage. When referring to the quartermaster's department, officials typically use terms such as "the most important," "of utmost importance," or "lifeblood of the army" to describe the role performed by the department. These terms demonstrate clearly how significant the operations of the quartermaster's department are to the viability of the army. A properly functioning quartermaster is priceless to an army. It can have a positive or negative impact on the soldiers morale and performance depending on how the department operates. However, this link is usually not cited when acclaims are being bestowed, but often is when blame is being placed. The quartermaster is one of the oldest institutions in American military history and has enjoyed a long and rich tradition.

To begin this study of the North Carolina quartermaster it is appropriate to examine the legacy of the quartermaster in American military history to 1861. The story of the quartermaster's department in American military history has been long and evolving. One of the first preparations taken by the Continental Congress for war with Britain was the establishment of the office of the quartermaster on June 16, 1775.² The quartermaster was largely recognized as the most important department in the operation of the war. Upon its creation, the quartermaster's responsibilities included supplying tents and camp equipment, transporting the army, and assisting field commanders by planning

² Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support of the Army: A History of the Corps 1775-1939* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History United States Army, 1989), 1.

marches, distributing marching orders, laying out camp sites, and assigning troop quarters.³ By the end of 1777, a Clothier General had been approved by the Continental Congress in order to supervise the procurement and distribution of clothing to the troops. At this time the quartermaster and clothier generals worked independently of each other with no single individual or organizational authority to administer the departments. Following the American Revolution, the quartermaster department was abolished by an act of Congress on July 25, 1785.⁴

On the brink of war again and with the realization that the existing system of military agents conducting the duties of the quartermaster department was unsatisfactory, attempts began to be made to reestablish the quartermaster department in 1810.⁵ The Secretary of War, William Eustis, proposed the appointment of a quartermaster general, an assistant quartermaster general, four deputy quartermasters generals, and as many assistants as may be required to conduct the proper business of the department. Eustis pointed out that this arrangement would provide a better system of accountability and would be a less expensive operation in the long term than the existing system of military agents. He was also sure to note that this system would instruct officers in a branch of

³ David C. Rutenburg and Jane S. Allen, *The Logistics of Waging War: American Logistics 1774-1985* (Gunter Airforce Station, AL: Airforce Logistics Management Center, 1996), 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7; Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 72-73.

⁵ This system posted military agents at various posts throughout the country to perform the duties that had formerly been carried out by quartermasters. Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 131.

service that was acknowledged as one of the most important in the military.⁶ On March 28, 1812, Congress passed legislation which adhered to the recommendations made by Eustis in his proposal.⁷

Upon the passage of the legislation and the reinstitution of the quartermaster department, President James Madison appointed his long time friend Morgan Lewis to serve as Quartermaster General.⁸ Lewis organized the department into eight districts. The districts were divided as follows:

- 1st District - Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire
- 2nd District - New York and Vermont
- 3rd District - New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware
- 4th District - Maryland, Virginia, and District of Columbia
- 5th District - North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia
- 6th District - Ohio and Michigan Territory
- 7th District - Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Indiana, Illinois, and Louisiana Territories
- 8th District - Louisiana and Florida and Mississippi Territory⁹

At this time, the only responsibility the quartermaster department had in relation to clothing was its shipment. The responsibility of procuring and supplying clothing to the troops was that of the Commissary General of Purchases, who at the time was Tench

⁶ Secretary of War Eustis found the merging of these duties to be “incompatible.” Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 136.

⁷ Ibid., 135-136.

⁸ At the time Lewis was 57 years old. He and Madison had been friends since their college days. Lewis had served as a lawyer, judge, attorney general, legislator, chief justice of the New York Supreme Court, and as Governor of New York prior to his appointment as Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army. He had served in the Continental Army throughout the American Revolution and had reached the rank of colonel. Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 136.

⁹ Ibid., 138, fn14.

Coxe.¹⁰ During the proceeding War of 1812, the method of obtaining clothing changed drastically. Just two weeks before war erupted with Britain, the Secretary of War dismissed Tench Coxe of his duties. Coxe was replaced by the Deputy Commissary General of Purchases Callender Irvine. After Irvine took charge he introduced changes to the manufacture of uniforms that led to a greater uniformity in cut and a better sizing of garments. He also implemented changes which led to the quartermaster department employing its own tailors to manufacture uniforms. These modifications led to Irvine achieving an output capable of 2,000 to 3,000 complete suits of uniforms per week. These changes ended up reducing expenses and brought the operation more closely under Irvine's supervision.¹¹

These improvements were revolutionary for the procurement, manufacture, and issuance of clothing to soldiers. The enhancements introduced by Irvine were still the common mode of operation, with some slight modifications, throughout the Civil War. Irvine displayed a foresight in the supply of clothing that allowed the individual soldiers to be better supplied than they had ever been in the past.

Improvements in the mode of military supply continued to be made during the antebellum period. It was during this time that the most legendary of all quartermaster generals operated the department. On May 8, 1818 Thomas Sidney Jesup was appointed Quartermaster General of the United States Army.¹² Jesup defined the three principal

¹⁰ Ibid., 144.

¹¹ Ibid., 145-147.

¹² Ibid., 181.

objectives of his department as being “to insure an ample and efficient system of supply, to give the utmost facility and effect to the movements and operations of the Army, and to enforce a strict accountability on the part of all officers and agents charged with monies and supplies.”¹³ The quartermaster’s responsibility as it pertained to clothing supply changed in 1821. By an order of the Secretary of War, the Quartermaster General became responsible for prescribing and enforcing a system of accountability for all supplies derived from the Purchasing Department. Jesup in turn instituted a system where every captain or company commander opened an account book in which he kept a record of the clothing and equipment issued to each individual soldier. A separate book would record extra issues, and the soldier would be required to settle his account during the next immediate pay period. Also under this system, the regular supply of clothing was to be distributed semi-annually in May and September or in April and October.¹⁴

The quartermaster department officially became responsible for the duties formerly conducted by the Clothing Bureau and the Commissary General of Purchases on August 29, 1842, six days after Congress abolished these offices.¹⁵ By this time huge strides had been made in the organizational structure of the quartermaster department and the industrial base of the United States. The improvements in mass-production and interchangeable parts had led to the establishment of a textile industry large enough to

¹³ Ibid., 184-185.

¹⁴ Ibid., 199-200.

¹⁵ Ibid., 251.

meet the clothing requirements of the army. Clearly a gradual shift was turning the United States from an agricultural into a manufacturing society.¹⁶

The Quartermaster Corps was shaken in 1860 with the death of its chief of forty-two years. Thomas S. Jesup passed away during the intense political campaign for president that year. Called upon to fill the vacant post, Secretary of War John B. Floyd selected a fellow Virginian, Lt. Colonel Joseph E. Johnston on June 28, 1860. Johnston assumed the duties of his office on July 2.¹⁷ Johnston's tenure would only last until April 22, 1861 when he tendered his resignation three days after the secession of his native Virginia.¹⁸

Virginia had been preceded by a series of southern states whose citizens found it appropriate to secede from the United States following the election of Abraham Lincoln. These states eventually formed the Confederate States of America in early 1861. One of the first actions of the new Confederate government, as it had been for the colonies when they separated from Britain, was the creation of a Quartermaster Department. This department was created by a series of acts passed between February 1861 and March 1862. The system that was created consisted of two general branches, the quartermasters

¹⁶ Rutenburg and Allen, *Logistics of Waging War*, 27.

¹⁷ Interestingly, the three finalists for the appointment were Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, Bvt. Brg. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and Mississippi Senator Jefferson Davis. Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee had been one of the favored nominees for the position as well. Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 333.

¹⁸ Risch, *Quartermaster Support*, 333.

in the field and the quartermasters at permanent posts and depots.¹⁹ The initial legislation passed on February 26, 1861 officially created the position of Confederate quartermaster general. The quartermaster department was charged with equipping the 100,000-man army that had been requested by provisional Confederate President Jefferson Davis and approved by the Confederate Congress. Assistant quartermasters were to be appointed throughout the new nation as they were needed to perform specialized duties, such as administrating regional depots or warehouses where goods would accumulate before they were issued to soldiers in the field.²⁰

When it came time to appoint a quartermaster general for the Confederacy, one man in particular, Abraham Charles Myers, sought the nomination vigorously. Upon the urging of his friends in the Confederate Congress, Myers began to make his case for appointment as quartermaster general of the Confederacy. He secured endorsements from General P.G.T. Beauregard, Judah Benjamin, and Richard Taylor, the son of Zachary Taylor. After much lobbying, Jefferson Davis issued General Order No. 1 which appointed Myers as “Acting Quartermaster General of the Confederate States” on March 25, 1861. With the issuance of this General Order, Myers became the chief of a department with limited funds, resources, and staff.²¹

¹⁹ James L. Nichols, *The Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 3.

²⁰ Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 6; Richard Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969), 9.

Myers's staff was to be composed of one lieutenant colonel, four majors, and a small assortment of lieutenants. His department was budgeted \$128 million dollars to accomplish the tasks it was charged with. Among the other responsibilities of the department were included the establishment of military contracts with cotton and woolen factories, the distribution of the entire military payroll, transportation of soldiers and goods, providing forage for all military horses and mules, securing prisoners of war, and the storing of all commissary stocks. The department was also responsible for the procurement of all garrison and field equipment which included a variety of items ranging from tents to axes to camp equipment. As the war progressed so did Myers' responsibilities. He eventually ended up presiding over the largest bureaucratic department in the South. He oversaw an army of depot quartermasters, mill workers, seamstresses, transportation clerks, mechanics, and detailed soldiers.²²

Soon after the Confederate government relocated to Richmond, Virginia during the last week of May 1861, Myers rented an old warehouse at 15th and Cary Streets. This warehouse was soon named the Clothing Bureau and housed an assortment of manufacturing operations. Myers appointed assistant quartermasters at Charleston, Montgomery, New Orleans, and San Antonio. By April 30, 1861 Myers had established offices in fifteen additional cities including Richmond, Lynchburg, and Baton Rouge. These men were directed to purchase and manufacture military accouterments and supplies, by either contracting for these goods or procuring the necessary materials and fabricating the items under their own supervision. The layout of the Confederate depot

²² Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 7.

system was similar in design to what the United States depot system had been in the South. The depots at Charleston, Savannah, and Columbus would be responsible for supplying troops serving along the Atlantic; the New Orleans depot would serve the troops in Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri, and the Nashville and Memphis depots would serve the troops in Tennessee and Kentucky. Some of the larger depots, such as Richmond and Columbus, employed a large amount of labor to manufacture goods, while other depots served mainly as distribution points. The course of the war forced the relocation and mode of operation of some depots, but throughout the war the basic structure of procurement remained in place.²³

This depot system greatly aided the Confederacy in its mobilization process. For the most part, ready-made clothing could not be found in the South at the onset of the war. Therefore, the depot system allowed quartermasters to distribute cloth they had received in bulk to women volunteers or hired help who would then fabricate the cloth into clothing. This “putting-out” system proved to be an unsuccessful arrangement, and by the end of 1861 almost all government clothing was being manufactured under the supervision of quartermasters at the various depots.²⁴

The bureau responsible for procuring and issuing clothing was the Confederate Clothing Bureau. Myers placed Richard P. Waller in charge of the Richmond Clothing Bureau. These clothing bureaus were charged with the manufacture and procurement of tents, shoes, clothing, and hospital supplies. Waller appointed two assistants to help him

²³ Ibid., 8-9; Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 16.

²⁴ Nichols, *Trans-Mississippi*, 19.

fulfill the responsibilities of the Clothing Bureau. One was Georgian, Lt. Arelius F. Cone, an 1857 graduate of West Point who served as an administrative assistant to Waller. The other appointee was Virginian, Capt. James B. Ferguson, Jr. who had operated a large export-import business in Richmond and Petersburg before the war. He and his brother, William Ferguson, supervised the bureau's business with the factories by organizing all contracts and purchases. These two gentlemen received all foreign goods shipped to Richmond and all domestic goods manufactured in Virginia. By September 1862, Waller's bureau had attained an average output of eight to ten thousand complete suits of uniforms, jacket and pants, per week. To reach and sustain these figures the Clothing Bureau employed sixty cloth cutters and trimmers as well as 2,000 seamstresses. It also operated a separate department for the fabrication of shoes. With this high level of output the Richmond Clothing Bureau quickly became the principal supply facility for Confederate soldiers stationed in Virginia.²⁵

The supply bureau created by Myers extended outside of Richmond to a network of depot and post quartermasters who reported directly to the main office in Richmond. There were also purchasing agents operating in each state on behalf of Myers who reported directly to the chief Quartermaster designated for that state. The clothing depot system in the state of Georgia provides a good illustration. The depot and shop personnel operated under the direct control of the Quartermaster General's office. These depots were located in Augusta, Forsyth, Fort Gaines, Macon, Atlanta, Athens, Columbus, Calhoun, and Cuthbert. Agents from these depots would secure manufacturing contracts

²⁵ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 9-10, 310 fn176, 320 fn169.

and procure finished goods or raw materials needed to fabricate the goods at the depot. This same system was utilized by the Confederacy in every Southern state, except for North Carolina.²⁶

In the spring of 1863 the vastly expanded purchasing and manufacturing activities administered by the quartermaster department forced Myers to reorganize his bureau. He divided the Confederacy into eleven purchasing districts. The supplies purchased in these districts were to be accumulated in a series of depots which were to be located near the fields of operation of the Confederate armies. These depots were located at Richmond and Staunton, Virginia; Raleigh, North Carolina; Atlanta and Columbus, Georgia; Huntsville and Montgomery, Alabama; Jackson, Mississippi; Knoxville, Tennessee; Little Rock, Arkansas; Alexandria, Louisiana; and San Antonio, Texas. The purchasing officer was in no way subject to any army commander and operated these depots under the exclusive control of the quartermaster general's office. The chief quartermaster of each army was directed to cease their general purchasing activities. They were directed to send their supply requisitions to the Quartermaster General's office. Here the quartermaster's office would check the requisitions and if approved, order the appropriate district purchasing officer to issue the supplies from his depot to the army. This reorganization aided the department by allowing it to conserve its limited resources and to function more sufficiently.²⁷

²⁶ Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 130-131.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 75-76.

Following the Battle of Gettysburg there was a shakeup in the Quartermaster's Department. On August 7, 1863, following an extended personal dispute between President Davis and Quartermaster General Myers, Davis appointed Alexander R. Lawton of Georgia as interim Quartermaster General of the Confederacy. Myers was not dismissed, but being outranked by Lawton would be forced to serve under him. Myers refused to serve under Lawton and resigned. Like many officers in Confederate service during the war, Myers became a victim of Jefferson Davis's personal animosity.²⁸ Lawton would continue to serve as the Quartermaster General of the Confederacy until the wars end. While he made several changes to Myers' operating procedures, he continued to experience many of the same problems that Myers' experienced himself.

The strong states' rights sentiment in the South which led to the secession of the eleven states that eventually formed the Confederacy also contributed to the independence these states sought in supplying their troops during the war. In order to establish a means of defense and anticipating an eventual war with the United States, these states took measures to create a standing army as well as a method to provide it with supplies. To accomplish this task, they typically followed the same process demonstrated previously by the United States and the Confederate States in their infancy. Therefore, when they merged together to form the Confederacy, many of them had already established a military structure within the state which included an active quartermaster department.

²⁸ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 85-91.

The state of North Carolina began this process well before its citizens voted to secede from the Union. The state administrators realized that they needed to prepare for war regardless of which side they would finally end up on. North Carolina began this process as early as February 1861. In that month, a bill entitled "An Act to Amend the Seventieth Chapter of the Revised Code, 'Militia'," was introduced and approved by the General Assembly.²⁹ This legislation reorganized the North Carolina State Militia and helped prepare the state for war. Section thirty of the bill detailed the responsibilities of the North Carolina Adjutant General. Essentially the adjutant general was second in charge, to the governor, of the state's resources and military forces. According to the bill, the office was to function as the "adjutant general, acting quartermaster general, inspector general, and keeper of public stores and munitions of war." For his duties the adjutant general was to receive a yearly salary of \$1,800.³⁰

The office of the adjutant general had been abolished by the General Assembly in 1859, however. Upon the abolition of the office, the governor was directed to assume the duties of the adjutant general in administering the state militia. Now that the legislature had approved the "militia bill," provided the legal means for the military organization of the state, and reestablished the adjutant general's office, it was the duty of the General Assembly to elect a new Adjutant General. It did so before the final passage of the

²⁹ This bill is commonly referred to as the "Militia Bill," but it is not to be confused with a similar bill passed in September 1861 which was officially entitled "Militia Bill."

³⁰ "An Act to Amend the Seventieth Chapter of the Revised Code, 'Militia'," February 20, 1861, *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina passed by the General Assembly, at its Session of 1860-1861*, 40-50.

“militia bill” on February 20, 1861, when they elected John F. Hoke, of Lincolnton, to the post.³¹

During the General Assembly’s first extra session in May 1861, the assembly passed “An Act to Provide for the Public Defense.” Section eight of this legislation gave the Governor the authority to appoint additional officers in the quartermaster, commissary, and medical departments. Until that point adjutant general Hoke had been fulfilling the responsibilities of the quartermaster general, but the necessity to equip the troops massing in Raleigh clearly demonstrated the need for a separate department to handle these duties. Acting quickly to fully mobilize the state for war, Governor John Ellis appointed Lawrence O’Bryan Branch, of Raleigh, to head the department on May 16. Branch formerly accepted his commission on May 21 and set about at once organizing the office.³² The principle responsibilities of the office were to provide transportation and quarters for the army, storage and transportation of army supplies,

³¹Richard William Iobst, “North Carolina Mobilizes: Nine Crucial Months, December 1860 - August 1861” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, 1968), 38-44; “An Act to Provide for the Public Defense,” May 11, 1861, *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina passed by the General Assembly, at its First Extra Session of 1861*, 89. John F. Hoke had been born in Lincolnton, NC in 1820. He earned his license as an attorney in 1843. Hoke went on to serve admirably in the United States Army during the Mexican War attaining the rank of Captain. Following his military service he returned to North Carolina where he resumed his law practice in Lincolnton and entered politics. He served as a State Senator during the 1850s and was an ardent secessionist in the North Carolina House of Commons during the secession crisis of 1860-1861. *Ibid.*, 43-44.

³² *Ibid.*, 113-114.

army clothing, camp and garrison equipage, horses for the cavalry, and fuel, forage, straw, and stationery for the men.³³

Before Branch officially accepted his commission as North Carolina's chief quartermaster and paymaster, advertisements had been placed in the newspapers throughout the state urging tailors to contract with the Quartermaster General's office. The material for the manufacture of clothing was to be provided by the state and was guaranteed to be delivered to the contractor at any railroad depot in North Carolina.³⁴ This was the first attempt by the state to organize an effort to clothe its troops. It set a precedent which would be followed by succeeding North Carolina quartermasters. This was a common practice which had been utilized by quartermasters in previous wars which the state had participated in.

Once responsibilities were transferred from the adjutant general to Branch, there was much confusion over the process of requisitioning goods. On May 29, 1861, Branch published a list of his department's activities. He stressed the fact that his department did not have control over arms, ammunition, and accouterments.³⁵ He stressed that supplies from the department's warehouses would only be issued to troops upon the requisition of the regimental quartermasters to which the company issuing the request was attached. If a company was not attached to a regiment, the company quartermaster was directed to

³³ *Regulations for the Quartermaster's Department of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Syme and Hall, Printers to the State Convention, 1861), 3-19.

³⁴ Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes," 115.

³⁵ Accouterments consisted of items related to the functioning of the soldier's rifle or musket such as a cartridge box, waist belt, and cap pouch.

issue requests through the quartermaster of the post at which the company was stationed. This procedure more or less followed Confederate regulations which directed company quartermasters to issue their requisitions to regimental quartermasters for approval. Requisitions approved by the regimental quartermaster would be forwarded to divisional quartermasters where they would be filled and in turn issues to the troops. Confederate regulations directed company commanders to draw clothing for their men at least twice a year or more often if circumstances required them to do so.³⁶

The state permitted volunteers who furnished their own uniforms to be reimbursed up to the amount which the state would have paid to outfit them. For these volunteers to qualify for reimbursement, the state required that the uniforms be purchased, paid for, and furnished by the volunteers. Lastly, Branch requested that if anyone knew where supplies for the troops could be purchased, they should contact the quartermaster's department immediately. Branch wrote that "all the energies of this department are, and will continue to be exerted to supply their [the soldiers] wants. The whole resources of the State are being enlisted for the accomplishment of that object." Branch also took this opportunity to encourage manufacturers of cloth, shoes, hats, caps, blankets, clothing, and camp equipage to notify him so that they may be contracted to supply goods for the state troops.³⁷

The tact and skill with which Branch conducted his office was immediately discernable. By May 26, 1861, Branch had contracted for 6,000 yards of uniform material

³⁶ Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes," 117-118; Nichols, *Trans-Mississippi*, 18-19.

³⁷ Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes," 117-118.

per week at an average price of sixty cents per yard. He had also purchased 8,000 caps at \$1.06 each and made arrangements with tailors to manufacture uniforms and clothing from the cloth he had procured. Branch also indicated that by the next day he anticipated to have arrangements made for a large supply of shoes at “fair prices.” These immediate successes led Branch to predict that he was “convinced from the result of my efforts of the last five days that the manufacturing...resources of the state are adequate to supply them [the troops] within a reasonable time, and that you may expect to see the North Carolina troops well equipped as far as this dept. [department] is concerned.”³⁸

The list of material prescribed by the North Carolina adjutant general which would constitute the complete outfit for a company of volunteers provides an understanding of the types of items the quartermaster was responsible for supplying. In a list issued April 20, 1861, the adjutant general specified that a company would need tents, cooking utensils, mess furniture, water buckets, knives, forks, tin plates, cups, pans, strong bags for rations, ten axes, ten spades, and six hatchets. In addition to these items, the individual soldier would require two pairs of pants, two sack coats, two flannel shirts, drawers, socks, undershirts, a felt hat, two pairs of shoes, boots for the cavalry, one blanket, one knapsack, one haversack, one canteen, and one waterproof overcoat. These items would complete the outfit required for the individual soldier. Hoke urged communities to supply as many of these articles as possible to the troops and guaranteed that the state would supply any items the communities were unable to supply.³⁹

³⁸ Ibid., 119.

³⁹ Ibid., 516.

North Carolina authorities utilized the Confederate table of clothing allowances for individual soldiers. While these figures were the ideal allowances required to sufficiently clothe soldiers, they were seldom realized by the quartermasters. The table authorized the issuance of the following items:

*Table 1. Clothing Allowance per Soldier*⁴⁰

<i>Clothing Type</i>	<i>Year 1</i>	<i>Year 2</i>	<i>Year 3</i>	<i>Total for 3 Years</i>	<i>Price per Item</i>
Cap, Hat	2	1	1	4	\$2.00
Coat	2	1	1	4	\$12.00
Trousers	3	2	2	7	\$9.00
Shirts	3	3	3	9	\$3.00
Drawers	3	2	2	7	\$3.00
Boots/Shoes	4	4	4	12	\$6.00
Socks	4	4	4	12	\$1.00
Great Coat/ Overcoat	1	0	0	1	\$25.00
Blanket	1	0	1	2	\$7.50

During the early stages of the war, the North Carolina state troops were supplied in four ways. These consisted of the efforts of ladies' aid societies, through municipal and county appropriations, through the efforts of individual unit commanders, and through the efforts of the quartermaster's department.⁴¹ The efforts of the ladies of North Carolina aided the war effort tremendously. They performed a variety of tasks and duties which aided not only the state and the quartermaster's department, but also the soldiers

⁴⁰ James L. Nichols, *The Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 18.

⁴¹ Jobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes," 519.

themselves. The women of the state equipped volunteers, fed them, nursed the wounded, and sent money to needy soldiers. In New Bern, a group of fifty women met regularly to make mattresses and clothing for the troops. The women of Raleigh put to work every available sewing machine in the city to fabricate uniforms and clothing. They developed a system where one group would cut and trim material which would then be distributed to another group of ladies to sew into clothing. Their work utilized the office of the governor and his private secretary when they were vacated due to Governor Ellis's illness in the summer of 1861. When their operations outgrew this space, the effort was moved to the Hall of the House of Commons. Interestingly, free black women also contributed to this effort and worked alongside the white ladies of Raleigh.⁴²

These efforts were soon organized into societies complete with officers and regular members. Organizing in such a manner allowed the ladies to become more efficient and resourceful.⁴³ A good example of such an organization was the "Chowan Ladies Relief Society for Soldiers." In a letter to Governor Clark in October 1861, they stated that their primary purpose was the collection of funds and clothing for distribution to the soldiers of Chowan County.⁴⁴ They asked that the governor supply cloth and flannel for them to manufacture into articles of clothing. They requested further that if the governor could not supply the cloth and flannel that he notify them of the lowest prices at

⁴² Ibid., 519-523.

⁴³ Ibid., 523.

⁴⁴ Henry T. Clark had been appointed to the office of Governor after the death of John Ellis in July 1861.

which they could obtain these goods and where they could be obtained. They indicated to the governor that the lowest price they had discovered for cloth was one dollar and seventy-five cents per yard. They were seeking sufficient materials to construct one hundred to one hundred and fifty jackets and the same number of flannel shirts.⁴⁵ In another letter to Governor Clark he was informed that citizens of Asheville had made and delivered to the soldiers in the field eight to ten thousand dollars worth of clothing.⁴⁶

Ladies' societies such as these made a large portion of the state's supply of shirts and drawers. Often the arrangement agreed to between the state agents and these ladies' aid societies would call for the state to supply the materials or provide a monetary advance for the materials and the labor provided to manufacture the items. Some entrepreneurial men arranged contracts with the state which allowed them to requisition material directly from the various mills. This requisitioned material would then be made into garments by destitute women. Letters to the quartermaster's department for this type of work demonstrated an eagerness for this sort of work among women with no other livelihood.⁴⁷ This arrangement was advantageous for both parties since it provided work for the women and benefited the troops in the field.

These efforts by the ladies of North Carolina were second only to the supply efforts of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department. Their efforts began as soon as

⁴⁵ Chowan Ladies to Henry T. Clark, Oct. 29, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH.

⁴⁶ J. W. Cander to Henry T. Clark, Oct. 28, 1861; Ibid.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Yates Webb, "Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861-1865," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 9 no. 2 (April 1932): 126.

the first volunteers signed up for service, and they were continued until the war ended. Without these ladies' efforts, the soldiers would have suffered greatly in the early days of the war before the state quartermaster's department was fully mobilized. It is impossible to estimate the enthusiasm and patriotism which these simple gifts and kind-hearted efforts generated. Once the quartermaster was organized, some of these ladies' societies continued to operate. They contracted with the state to manufacture clothing for its troops. One such society was the "Ladies' of Cumberland Hospital Association" who used the profits from their contract to pay for medication and hospital treatment for wounded and ailing soldiers.⁴⁸

Another contributor of these shirts and drawers were the state's textile mills. These mills sold none of their regular product to the public, instead they manufactured it themselves into garments. This allowed the mills to sell their entire output to the state and to barter a portion of their yarn or cloth to cover the running expenses of the mill. The largest mill which participated in this type of operation was the Cedar Falls Company of Cedar Falls, North Carolina.⁴⁹

One of the most notable examples of an officer supplying his troops is that of Colonel Charles F. Fisher of the 6th North Carolina State Troops. Before his official appointment as the regimental commander, Fisher covered the largest part of the expenses incurred outfitting of his regiment from his own pocket. On May 1, 1861, the

⁴⁸ Ladies of Cumberland to C.W. Garrett, July 30, 1862, Adjutant General's Records, Military Collection, NCOAH.

⁴⁹ Webb, "State Regulation," 126.

Salisbury firm of Brown, Coff, and Mock billed Fisher \$146.50 for sixty-seven blankets. Fisher later purchased additional blankets, uniform material, meat, and flour from several merchants. Fisher sought reimbursement from the state for the expense of outfitting and supplying his men. Quartermaster General Branch replied that Fisher's regiment would be fully supplied upon its mustering into state service.⁵⁰ From this reply it can be assumed that the regiment's mustering into state service would be the proper time for Fisher to petition for reimbursement.

The Quartermaster's purchasing activities were stepped up substantially in June 1861. On the first of that month, Branch issued proposals for hats, shoes, military buttons, shirts, drawers, undershirts, tin canteens, waterproof knapsacks, axes, spades, pickaxes, and many other items required by the soldiers. In a report to Governor Clark, Quartermaster Branch listed the cost of some of the supplies being purchased: blankets \$3, uniform suit (coat and pants) \$10 per set, caps \$1.06, shirts \$.50, drawers \$.50, and one pair of sock \$.25.⁵¹ He indicated to his agents that the color of uniform did not matter because the most important thing was that the department be able to provide uniforms to its soldiers. The official uniform material for North Carolina troops was to be gray cassimere. It was heralded as a cheap material that would wear well. Branch wrote in reference to the potential purchase of 4,000 yards of clothing material "I would suggest

⁵⁰ Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes," 549-550.

⁵¹ L.O. Branch to Henry T. Clark, Sept. 10, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH.

the propriety of waiving the fact of its not being of the color prescribed for uniforms, and purchasing the above quantity which is sufficient to uniform one regiment with coats.”⁵²

The “Regulations for the Uniform Dress and Equipment of the Volunteers and State Troops of North Carolina” was issued on May 27, 1861 by the adjutant general’s office. The regulations for the enlisted men called for a sack coat of gray cloth (of North Carolina manufacture) extending half way down the thigh made loose with a falling collar, six coat buttons down the front commencing at the throat, a strip of cloth sewed on each shoulder to indicated the branch of service; black for infantry, red for artillery, and yellow for cavalry. Enlisted man’s uniform trousers were to be manufactured with a strip of cloth down and over the outer seams which would indicate the branch of service using the colors indicated above. This trimming was to be one-inch wide for non-commissioned officers and sergeants, three-fourths of an inch wide for corporals, and one half inch wide for privates. Regulations were also approved for hats, buttons, boots and shoes, spurs, gloves, sashes, sword belts, swords and scabbards, sword knots, epaulets, shoulder straps, and chevrons.⁵³

These regulations were soon changed in order for the state to produce a more economical and less time consuming uniform. By February 1862, the state modified the original sack coat to a jacket which required less material to manufacture. This

⁵² L.O. Branch to Warren Winslow, June 1, 1862, Quartermaster and Paymaster Records Letters, NCOAH, quoted in Richard William Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes: Nine Crucial Months, December 1860 - August 1861" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, 1968), 553-554.

⁵³ Ibid., 556-557.

modification removed the skirts from the sack coat, thus turning it into a waist-length jacket. The jacket was further modified in the summer of 1862 when the colored shoulder trim was eliminated and the falling collar was replaced with a standing collar. This modified jacket was issued by the state until the end of the war.⁵⁴

During the organization of state troops in the summer of 1861, the state's adjutant general, John F. Hoke, was elected colonel of the 13th Regiment North Carolina State Troops. He accepted the position and left the adjutant general's office. Lawrence O'Bryan Branch followed suit soon after Hoke and accepted the colonelcy of the 33rd Regiment North Carolina State Troops. The General Assembly took advantage of these vacancies to reorganize the state militia during its second extra session in September 1861. This second "militia bill" redefined the structure and responsibilities of the adjutant general's office from what they had been under John F. Hoke.⁵⁵

This bill, which was officially titled "Militia Bill," stated that the state's military forces would be headed by one adjutant and inspector general who would be given the rank of Major-General. This adjutant and inspector general would be the General-in-Chief of all the military forces of the State of North Carolina. The bill stated that the adjutant general was to be nominated by the governor and then approved by a joint vote of the General Assembly for a term lasting four years. The adjutant general's duties

⁵⁴ Ron Field, *Brassey's History of Uniforms: American Civil War Confederate Army*. Herndon, Virginia: Brassey's Inc., 1996.

⁵⁵ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina 1861-1865* (Raleigh, 1901), vol.1, 5, 23-24.

included discharging the duties of quartermaster general, paymaster general, commissary general, and chief of ordnance. The adjutant general was permitted to appoint assistants to help him carry out these tasks. The assistants in each department were instructed not to exceed four in time of war and one in times of peace. The adjutant general was to receive the pay and allowance of a brigadier general in the army of the Confederate States in times of war and in times of peace an annual salary of \$1,500.⁵⁶

Following the passage of the "militia bill," James G. Martin was unanimously elected by the General Assembly to serve as the state's new adjutant general. Martin immediately set about organizing his department and those under his supervision. He appointed Captain John Devereux, who was currently serving in the state's commissary department, to be the new chief quartermaster of the state. It was under Devereux's supervision that the affairs of the quartermaster were directed for the rest of the war. Devereux was assisted by a team of gentlemen who helped him handled the various duties and responsibilities of the quartermaster's department. Captain Moses A. Bledsoe was placed in charge of transportation and made purchases throughout the state of horses, mules, forage, wagons, and harnesses. Captain Abraham Myers's sole duty was to purchase supplies throughout the state.⁵⁷ Receipts show that Myers primarily procured camp and garrison equipment such as tents, knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, cooking and eating utensils, axes, picks, shovels, and spades. Captain I.W. Garrett and Major

⁵⁶"Militia Bill," September 20, 1861, *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina passed by the General Assembly, at its Second Extra Session of 1861*, 18, 26-27.

⁵⁷ This Abraham Myers is not to be confused with the Abraham C. Myers who was quartermaster general for the Confederacy.

Clement Dowd were placed in charge of clothing manufacture for the state.⁵⁸ They oversaw the production and procurement of hats, coats, jackets, pants, shirts, socks, undergarments, wool and cotton cloth, thread, buttons, and needles. Captain Garrett had previously served as a first lieutenant in the 15th Regiment North Carolina State Troops. Governor Clark asked personally for Garrett's transfer to the quartermaster's department because of his "peculiar qualifications for clothing establishment work." Two men were detailed to purchase cotton on the state's behalf. Captain William H. Oliver performed this task in the eastern part of the state, while Captain James Sloan functioned in the central part of the state. These gentlemen purchased ginned and baled cotton which was either made into cloth for the state or shipped to England to finance purchasing activities abroad.⁵⁹

At the same time the General Assembly approved the legislation reorganizing the adjutant general's office; they passed a resolution which would set North Carolina apart from the rest of the Confederate states. Entitled "A Resolution to Provide Winter Clothing for the Troops," the resolution read:

⁵⁸ Apparently there was a Captain Isaac W. Garrett and a Captain Charles W. Garrett who served under Devereux in the quartermaster department. Captain I. W. Garrett supervised the state's clothing manufacturing facility in Raleigh until 1863. Captain C.W. Garrett worked in Raleigh apparently as a clerk for the quartermaster. Most of his correspondences are related to the finances of the department such as bill of sale. Adjutant General's Records, Military Collection, NCOAH; Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, I, 24.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, I, 24; John Devereux Papers, NCOAH.; *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*. Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley. 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. I, 190 fn96.

Resolved, that the Governor be authorized and required to make an arrangement with the Government of the Confederate States whereby he shall receive the commutation money for the clothing of the North Carolina troops, which may now or hereafter be in the service of the Confederate States, and when received he shall apply the same and such further sum as may be necessary through proper agents, in providing and furnishing said troops with necessary and comfortable clothing. [Ratified the 20th day of September, 1861]⁶⁰

The Governor soon accomplished this task. Soon after the passage of this resolution, North Carolina authorities and the Confederate government entered into an agreement that allowed North Carolina to take over the responsibility of clothing its own soldiers. The Confederate government agreed to reimburse the state at the rate of \$50 per soldier annually under the commutation system.⁶¹ North Carolina authorities also agreed to sell Confederate authorities excess supplies acquired by state purchasing agents in exchange for the withdrawal of Confederate purchasing agents from North Carolina. This was arranged in an effort to prevent competition between state and Confederate purchasing agents within North Carolina. The Confederate Quartermaster Department obliged and readily withdrew their agents.⁶² This agreement was soon revised as the costs of clothing and materials increased. Adjutant General Martin arranged a new agreement with Confederate Quartermaster General Myers in which the state was reimbursed for the

⁶⁰ "A Resolution to Provide Winter Clothing for the Troops," September 20, 1861, *Public Laws of the State of North Carolina passed by the General Assembly, at its Second Extra Session of 1861*, 129.

⁶¹ Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), 68.

⁶² Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 109-110.

actual costs of the clothing furnished. Martin concluded in a report to Governor Vance that this arrangement was much simpler and a great deal better for the state.⁶³

At this time the Confederate government was utilizing the commutation system for clothing soldiers. This called for the Confederate government to be responsible for clothing the Regular Army and for volunteer soldiers to supply their own clothing, for which the Confederate government would reimburse them \$21.00 every six months.⁶⁴ The Confederate government utilized commutation in order to ease the demands placed upon the new nation as it organized its government and mobilized for war. Commutation was repealed by the Confederate Congress on October 8, 1862.⁶⁵ With the repeal of the commutation system, the Confederate Quartermaster Department was required by law to clothe and equip all Confederate soldiers. The commutation system was repealed in an effort to better utilize and distribute the resources of the Confederate States.⁶⁶

Following this arrangement, the North Carolina quartermaster department set about their duties. Their responsibilities were now more critical and their operations

⁶³ "Adjutant General's Report," *Legislative Documents, Session 1862-1863*. (Raleigh: John Spelman, Printer to the State, 1863), 23-27. Zebulon B. Vance had been elected Governor in a special election to replace Governor John Ellis who had died in July 1861 while still in office. The election was held August 6, 1862 and Vance was inaugurated as Governor on September 8, 1862. Glenn Tucker, *Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 145.

⁶⁴ Nichols, *Trans-Mississippi*, 17. This rate of reimbursement at \$21.00 every six months was later increased to \$25.00.

⁶⁵ Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), 71.

⁶⁶ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 69.

larger than they had ever been. One of the first actions taken was the establishment of contracts with textile manufacturers in the state to supply the quartermaster's operations with the necessary materials to do their job. Purchasing agents for the North Carolina quartermaster department operating around the state would purchase supplies, such as cotton and woolen cloth, and have them transported to where they were needed most. Captain Isaac W. Garrett oversaw the clothing manufacturing facility established by the department in Raleigh. It was the duty of Capt. Garrett to make contracts with the state's textile mills to supply his operation in Raleigh. Adjutant General Martin called on the mills of the state to furnish all the goods possible and sent agents into several southern states to purchase additional materials that could be used for the manufacture of clothing.⁶⁷ The factory at Raleigh manufactured the following items during its first year of operation, (September 30, 1861 to September 30, 1862):

5,979 overcoats	109,041 pairs of drawers
49,345 jackets	8,527 pairs of socks
5,954 coats	1,228 pairs of shoes
68,364 pants	2,801 wool blankets
61,275 shirts	11,952 carpet blankets ⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Webb, "State Regulation," 124.

⁶⁸ "Adjutant General's Report," *Legislative Documents, Session 1862-1863*. abstract A.

The combined efforts of state purchasing and production led to the following supply totals during its first year of operation:

22,595 overcoats	85,597 pairs of drawers
48,093 jackets	47,155 pairs of socks
27,280 coats	75,809 pairs of shoes
85,779 pants	25,185 blankets
110,723 shirts ⁶⁹	

The difference in these previous quantities is attributed to the states production being augmented by the purchases of the quartermaster department agents and by contracts with manufacturers. From 1862 until the end of the war, large quantities of top-quality clothing were being produced by companies such as Young, Wriston, and Orr of Charlotte, Hughes and Best of Salem, and Howard and Beard of Salisbury. These firms were contracted to supply the state with thousands of uniforms a week.⁷⁰

Many of these items were stored in several state depots such as those in Raleigh and Greensboro, but many of these supplies were also sent directly to Richmond, Virginia where the state operated a depot as well. North Carolina's depot was located on Main Street between 8th and 7th streets, opposite the Spotswood Hotel. A letter from A.E. Armstrong of the Mississippi Depot describes the dimensions of their depots in Manassas and Richmond, Virginia. The main building was eighty feet long and twenty-one feet wide. On the south side of the building was a shed which was eighteen feet by twelve feet

⁶⁹ Ibid., abstract B.

⁷⁰ Webb, "State Regulation," 124.

that served as a kitchen and dining room and on the north side of the building there was a storage room which measured thirty feet by twelve feet. This room was used for storing goods on deposit for Mississippi regiments in Virginia. Located on the front of the building was a platform eighty feet long which paralleled the railroad. This platform was used for the transfer of goods from railroad cars into the depot. Operating at the depot was one assistant quartermaster, who served as the chief clerk of the depot, two assistants received and delivered boxes and goods, and one cook. The Mississippi depot in Richmond employed two clerks who secured goods, filled orders from the army, and attended to Mississippi's business with the various departments of the Confederate government. Mississippi's depot in Richmond was located between 7th and 8th streets very near the North Carolina depot.⁷¹

While this information pertains to the State of Mississippi, it represents the activities of these depots located in Virginia. Colonel Chipley of the North Carolina depot had requested this information from A. E. Armstrong who was an assistant quartermaster for Mississippi; therefore North Carolina's authorities must have desired to use Mississippi's operations as a model. These state depots in Richmond allowed the states to more quickly distribute clothing to their troops fighting in Virginia or the Army of Northern Virginia. Requisitions were sent to these depots or to the Confederate quartermaster, who would forward the requisitions to the state depots. From here, as the

⁷¹ *Documenting The American South*, 1862, "The City Intelligencer Or Stranger's Guide," <http://docsouth.unc.edu/impls/vandc/vandc.html>. (accessed June 2, 2005); A.E. Armstrong to G.W. Chipley, December 19, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH.

Mississippi example demonstrates, the supplies would be transported from the depot to the soldiers in the field. Records show that besides North Carolina and Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, and the 4th and 5th Texas Regiments operated depots in Richmond.⁷²

As for funding the quartermaster's operations, a series of reports from the Adjutant General demonstrate clearly the astronomical amounts of money which changed hands through the quartermaster's department. In a report to Governor Clark on November 25, 1861, Martin estimated that the quartermaster's department would need \$1.3 million to conduct its operations in 1862 alone. His estimates include \$50,000 for equipment such as tents, canteens, knapsacks, haversacks, spades, and axes. He estimated that \$800,000 would be needed to supply 20,000 men with six months' worth of clothing.⁷³ A report for the year spanning September 30, 1861 to September 30, 1862 shows that the quartermaster department had expended a total of \$1,233,042.69 on clothing and \$269,404.61 on other forms of equipment for which he had estimated \$50,000 in November 1861. The total amount expended by the department in this year

⁷² *Documenting The American South*, 1862, "The City Intelligencer or Stranger's Guide," <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/vandc/vandc.html>. (accessed June 2, 2005).

⁷³ J.G.Martin to Henry T. Clark, November 25, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH. These figures were estimated on the number of troops in state service in November 1861 plus five additional regiments. Martin noted that any additional regiments would add \$50,000 to his total estimate. He also noted that these figures were based on the assumption that within six months the state would be receiving reimbursements for clothing from the Confederate government. Ibid.

was \$4,502,729.24 on all its operations. By this time, the Confederacy had reimbursed the state for clothing amounting to \$903,096.95 with a large amount still due.⁷⁴

Martin's report also states that the quartermaster's department took immediate steps to comply with the legislation that required the state to clothe and equip its own troops. He indicates that when the law was passed there was no clothing on hand in the quartermaster's department, but that most of the troops had been supplied with clothing and blankets before the onset of cold weather. However, blankets and shoes were the most difficult items for the quartermaster to obtain. Blankets, Martin stated, could not be had nor was there material available out of which they could be manufactured. Arrangements had been made to supply "cotton comforts" in lieu of blankets. As for shoes, Martin felt that there was a sufficient amount of materials to supply the troops and the citizens of the state provided that the state was not invaded by Confederate agents and that speculators be prevented from exporting North Carolina leather to other states.⁷⁵

The Adjutant General's Report for operations spanning from September 30, 1862 to March 31, 1864 show that the quartermaster department made distributions of clothing and equipment amounting to \$6,862,043.30. This report reveals that by this time North Carolina authorities had turned over a large portion of their clothing and equipment to the Confederate quartermaster's department for issue to North Carolina troops. Those units still under the authority of the State were being issued their supplies by North Carolina

⁷⁴ "Adjutant General's Report," *Legislative Documents, Session 1862-1863*. 23-27.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

authorities. During 1863, the Confederate States reimbursed the State \$6,008,373.38 for clothing. The amount due North Carolina for the first quarter of 1864 was \$1,247,235. The adjutant general observed that the state's troops had been abundantly supplied with comfortable materials, and he speculated that given the current status of the quartermaster's operations, the state should be able to keep a requisite supply of goods furnished and on hand.

Manufacturing records for the quartermaster's department show that production was going strong even during the last days of the war. From January 13 to March 14, 1865 the items listed in Table 2 were produced:

Table 2. North Carolina Quartermaster Production for January 13 - March 14, 1865⁷⁶

<i>Month/Dates 1865</i>	<i>Oil Blankets \$2.50 each</i>	<i>Drawers \$.75 to \$1 each</i>	<i>Shirts \$1 each</i>	<i>Pants \$2 each</i>	<i>Jackets \$2.75 to \$3 each</i>
<i>January 13-31</i>	221	3858	5829	1707	19
<i>February</i>	45	2570	12,213	4088	394
<i>March 1-14</i>	0	2470	8116	740	520
<i>Totals</i>	266	8898	26,158	6535	933

These efforts by the citizens and officials of North Carolina led to their troops being among the best, if not the best, supplied troops in the Confederate Army. It took a mobilization effort of all the state's citizens to meet the needs of the state's troops during the crisis. The North Carolina quartermaster department relied on the intense loyalty of the state's citizens, manufacturing and textile base, and innovative operations abroad to

⁷⁶ Quartermaster Department Clothing Manufacturing Record, January 13 - March 13, 1865, Adjutant Generals Records, NCOAH.

support its successful military establishment. The director of the Mississippi depot, A. E. Armstrong, said it best when he commented in a letter to Colonel Chipley of the North Carolina depot about their efforts to clothe troops, “the service that we are rendering to our state troops can’t be estimated by any (body) only our own troops.”⁷⁷

When the war erupted, North Carolina boasted one the largest state manufacturing and textile bases in the whole Confederacy. The state authorities and the operators of these facilities would greatly aid the war effort in their ability to meet the demand placed upon them for their production. Without this preexisting establishment, the North Carolina quartermaster’s department would have been forced to rely more heavily on outside sources for supplies and very possibly would not have been as successful in their efforts.

⁷⁷ A.E. Armstrong to G.W. Chipley, November 25, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH.

Chapter Two

Domestic Operations

One of the primary resources the North Carolina quartermaster's department relied on when it began preparing to equip its army for war was the state's textile production capacity. By the 1860s, North Carolina boasted one of the largest textile production bases in the South. The 1860 census identified thirty-nine cotton mills and seven woolen mills operating in the state.¹ In fact, the state's textile production constituted nearly one third of the total textile production in the Confederacy.² Nevertheless, while North Carolina possessed a large textile production base for a Southern state, the region's textile industry was still in its infancy.

The South had been largely left behind in the antebellum industrialization of the United States. This was largely due to the fact that the topography and geography of the South made it naturally suited for agricultural purposes. The fertile soil and favorable topography allowed the colonies, and later the states, of the South to produce abundant supplies of tobacco, indigo, cotton, and rice. These items were in high demand in England and could be traded for manufactured goods that were not available in the

¹ Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: Confederate Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), 68. Some sources indicate the number of woolen mills in the state to have been nine.

² Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), 70.

region. Manufactured items were imported from England into the Southern states while tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, lumber, and naval stores were exported. Therefore, southerners had very little reason to pursue manufacturing on a large scale. Most of the goods that were manufactured in the South were for household or local use.³

As early as 1649, many plantations across the South had become self-sufficient in their supply of textiles and leather articles. By the end of the seventeenth century, most families possessed the hand tools necessary for making woolen, linen, and cotton cloth.⁴ At this same time, the British began taking the necessary measures to repress the manufacture of wool in the colonies. Their primary methods included forbidding the importation of sheep into America and forbidding the exportation of cloth made in the colonies.⁵

Being cut off from English textiles during the Revolution, the South began to produce cotton and woolen cloth. Production continued in homes and on plantations, but in an effort to meet demand planters employed their poorer white neighbors to spin and weave materials. On larger plantations, weaving shops were set up which utilized free and slave labor to make goods for community and army use. Small manufacturing plants arose in many communities that turned out cloth for use by the local neighborhoods. Besides textile manufacturing, other industries started up during this time to satisfy the

³ Benjamin F. Lemert, *The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), 13.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ James A. Morris, *Woolen and Worsted Manufacturing in the Southern Piedmont* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), 2.

various other needs of the population. Small furnaces sprang up for the production of bar iron which was then fashioned into farm tools and other items of necessary use by local artisans. Shops for the production of firearms also became numerous during this time period.⁶

Following the Revolution, inventions such as the cotton gin and improvements to the steam engine and to spinning and weaving machinery made it possible for cloth to be produced more cheaply than it ever had been before. The evolution of the cotton gin led most plantations in the South to shift from growing tobacco, indigo, and rice to growing cotton, which was more profitable. The demand for southern cotton was so great that it became more profitable for the southern agriculturalist to supply the textile industries in Great Britain and New England with cotton than to further develop the localized textile industries. This led to the home once again becoming the main center of textile production in the South. Items that could not be produced in the homes were purchased from New England or British manufacturers.⁷ An 1810 census showed that there were no factories in the South manufacturing woolen goods. The practice of producing homespun goods continued to be the largest type of textile production in the South well into the antebellum era.⁸

During the early antebellum era, a small number of mills were established in the South, but economic conditions never remained stable enough to foster their firm

⁶ Lemert, *Cotton Textile Industry*, 16-17.

⁷ Ibid., 18-20.

⁸ Morris, *Woolen and Worsted*, 7.

establishment in the region. The cotton bumper crop of 1826 dropped the price of cotton from twenty to ten cents per pound where it remained for five years. During this time of reduced cotton prices, more southerners began to build textile mills in the South. Soon, however, cotton production was reduced to counteract low prices, which once again raised prices higher. With the rise of cotton prices, the progress of the textile industry in the South was further disrupted. The building of a southern textile base continued to grow slowly, but was prevented from rapid growth due to the profits available in agriculture production.⁹

The decade preceding the American Civil War saw the abolition movement gain steam and cotton prices rise. These occurrences pushed southern interest in manufacturing into the background. By 1860 there were 24,590 manufacturing facilities in the South with a total investment of \$175 million. This averaged a total investment of \$7,144.37 per mill revealing that many of the establishments were minor operations and those which were of importance would have been few in number.¹⁰

One of the most important factors that stood in the way of manufacturers in North Carolina was the importation of manufactured goods from other states. These goods, brought in via railroad, were so much cheaper than locally produced goods that it impeded the advance of the industry in the state.¹¹ However, many textile mills

⁹ Lemert, *Cotton Textile Industry*, 20-21, 25.

¹⁰ Ibid., 25, 29-30.

¹¹ Ibid., 30.

established themselves within the state by 1850 and would eventually supply items of crucial necessity to the state's soldiers during the Civil War.

One of the most important mills in North Carolina was the Fries Mill of Salem. Francis Levin Fries got his start in the textile business in 1836 when he was employed as the Secretary and Treasurer of the Salem Cotton Mill.¹² Having no prior experience in the production of cotton cloth, Fries went north and studied the process. After the necessary education, Fries purchased the machinery which would be needed, transported the machinery to Salem, and supervised the installation of the equipment at the facility. Fries worked at the mill for roughly four years before he left his job following a disagreement with the mill's President, a Dr. Shuman. Fries was upset over the fact that Dr. Shuman had agreed to pay the superintendent of the mill a larger salary than he had agreed to pay Fries as secretary and treasurer.¹³

In the fall of 1839, Fries began to make plans for starting a small woolen mill which would operate under his supervision. He opened the small mill in 1840 with two pairs of wool cards that functioned to shape wool into rolls, which were then spun and

¹² Francis Levin Fries had previously studied theology and taught at the Salem boys school. While teaching, Fries studied law and was admitted to the North Carolina bar. He briefly practiced law before pursuing a career in the textile business. Fries died during the midst of the Civil War in 1863 and his brother and business partner, Henry, took over the operations of the mill. John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH; *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley. 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. I, 255 fn305.

¹³ *Diary of the Fries Mill, Salem, NC*. Francis L. Fries Diary, Private Collections, NCOAH; John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH.

woven into wool by farmer's wives and daughters.¹⁴ Since the custom roll carding was a seasonal business, Fries soon added a spinning jenny and a few looms which enabled him to utilize the card machines on a full time basis.¹⁵ Soon a dye and fulling mill were added to the operation.¹⁶ The spinning jenny was soon replaced with better machinery as the operations of the mill evolved. At the mill, Fries produced woolen jeans cloth predominantly. Jeans cloth was created by weaving together a mixture of a cotton warp and a woolen weft.¹⁷

The mill purchased the majority of its raw wool from Philadelphia through Thomas Hilsen and Company. Purchases of wool for the mill in 1850 show that \$1510.03 worth of wool was purchased domestically while the wool purchased in Philadelphia

¹⁴ Cotton cards were hand-held, flattened brushes with short wire bristles. The cards were used to roll cotton and wool fibers into strands for spinning into yarn. Fries likely used a card machine instead of the hand-held brushes to roll the fibers into strands for spinning.

¹⁵ The spinning jenny had been invented in 1764 by James Hargreaves of Stanhill, Lancashire, Great Britain. The spinning jenny used eight spindles onto which the thread was spun from a corresponding set of rovings. By turning a single wheel, the operator could spin eight threads at once instead of just one. Later, improvements were made that enabled the number of spindles be increased to eighty. The thread that the machine produced was coarse and lacked strength, making it suitable only for the filling of weft, the threads woven across the warp. The contraption was named after his daughter, Jenny. "Spinning Jenny," <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/TEXjenny.htm>. (accessed June 20, 2005).

¹⁶ A fulling mill was used to cleanse, shrink, and thicken cloth using a process of applying of moisture, heat, and pressure. *Dictionary.com*, 2005, <http://dictionary.reference.com/search?q=Fulling%20Mill> (accessed July 9, 2005).

¹⁷ John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH. The cotton warp ran lengthwise, or vertically, while the wool weft was interlaced through the cotton warp horizontally. This is similar to the fabric known today as denim, but it is much more coarse and unfinished than denim.

amounted to \$37,341.37. Wool purchases for 1860 show that \$953.94 worth of domestic wool was purchased while \$32,245.36 worth of wool was purchased in Philadelphia.¹⁸

From the early days of the mill, Francis Fries had been assisted by his brother Henry W. Fries. In March 1846, they officially entered into a partnership under the name of F&H Fries. In late 1848, the Fries brothers added a small cotton mill to their existing woolen operation. In a building adjoining the woolen mill, the Fries started a small 500 spindle cotton mill which enabled them to produce their own wool and cotton materials which in turn would be used to make their jeans cloth fabric. The brothers continued to make improvements to their jeans cloth until "Salem Jeans" became the proper clothing material for gentlemen throughout the region. They also developed an inexpensive material used to clothe slaves. This cloth was sold directly to slave owners in large quantities throughout North and South Carolina.¹⁹

Another mill which had a relatively long history of operation in the Old North State prior to the Civil War was operated by Edwin Michael Holt. In 1837, Holt founded a cotton mill which operated under the name of the Alamance Factory. When the mill opened it produced small quantities of yarn which were purchased by local women who would weave the yarn into cloth for their families' needs. Soon, machinery was added to the factory which generated greater output. Thomas Holt, Edwin's son, remembered that in the early years the factory ran twelve hours a day. Edwin Holt would arrive promptly

¹⁸ John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH.

¹⁹ Ibid.

at 6:30 in the morning to start up the machinery in preparation for a day's work. The mill would typically close down at seven o'clock in the evening and Edwin would remain there for another half hour to make sure that all the lamps were out and that the stoves were properly extinguished to reduce the risk of fire. Holt repeated this process for several years until the factory had paid for itself. He then trained a young man to carry out these daily tasks and allowed him to run the mill under Holt's supervision. This allowed Holt to split his time between supervising the factory and his plantation.²⁰

The original Alamance Factory was housed in a frame building with a brick foundation. Whale oil lamps were used for lighting and wood burning stoves provided heat in the winter. During its first eight years in business, the factory produced only undyed yarn that was sold in the local company stores, by peddlers, or transported by wagon to towns across North Carolina and in the surrounding states to sale to women as hand-knitting or weaving yarn. By 1845, power looms were added to the factory which provided the factory with the means to produce its own cloth to sale.²¹

To furnish labor for his factory, Edwin Holt almost always recruited families to work for him. He housed them in small homes he had built around the factory and expected these families to furnish "several hands apiece." A man traveling through the area doing research on a history of the American Revolution wrote "around this mill" there was "quite a village of neat log houses, occupied by the operatives...where

²⁰ Bess Beatty, *Alamance: The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 14, 18-20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

everything had an appearance of thrift. I went in and was pleased to see the hands of intelligent white females employed in a usual occupation.” He went on to comment that he found the Alamance Factory to be “a real blessing, present and prospective, for it gives employment and comfort to many poor girls who might otherwise be wretched.” Men, such as those trained and employed by Holt to supervise the mill, were typically few in the mill, but held administrative, highly skilled, or supervisory positions. Holt used his slaves to construct the mill buildings and houses and is believed to have possibly worked them in the dye house, but there is no evidence that he ever used his slaves to tend the machinery in the factory. A majority of the laborers in the pre-war Alamance Factory were young women. Employment records show that in 1860 the factory employed 184 workers of which 47 were males and 137 were females. These totals represented 63 mill families which lived in the village surrounding the factory.²²

The Alamance Factory proved to be a successful venture for Holt. By 1850, the Alamance factory was valued at \$80,000. The value of the yarn and cloth produced at the factory during this same time was estimated to have been \$37,000 and the total profit to have equaled \$8,618. Holt was able to pocket all the profits by 1851 when the mill had paid for itself. Ten years later, the total production was valued at \$45,000 and the profits equaled \$13,704.²³

Manufacturers such as Fries and Holt had developed a vital asset to North Carolina when it seceded from the Union in 1861. When mobilization for war began,

²² Ibid., 53-55, 57, 61, 67.

²³ Ibid., 27-28.

state officials turned to these mills in order to supply North Carolina troops. In May 1861, Quartermaster General Lawrence O'Bryan Branch urged manufacturers of cloth, shoes, hats, caps, blankets, clothing, and camp equipage to contact him as soon as possible so that their services could be employed by the state. Soon manufacturers across the state were contracted to furnish coats, sack coats, pants, and other articles of clothing. The state's textile manufacturers had promised Branch that they would be able to provide him with six to seven thousand yards of suitable uniform material per week. By June 9, 1861, however, Branch had realized that the textile manufacturers would not be able to meet this goal. Branch felt that if Governor John Ellis would rescind the uniform restrictions for state troops, as they pertained to color, then the textile manufacturers would be able to meet this goal.²⁴

Soon after taking office in late September 1861, the new North Carolina Chief Quartermaster, Capt. John Devereux, placed advertisements in the state's newspapers. These advertisements asked for any person or persons interested in contracting with the state for the production of clothing for North Carolina's soldiers to contact the quartermaster's office to obtain contract terms. The advertisements specified that the state would provide the necessary materials to produce goods in quantities sufficient to clothe

²⁴ Richard William Iobst, "North Carolina Mobilizes: Nine Crucial Months, December 1860 - August 1861" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, 1968), 117, 517, 554.

a single company.²⁵ If they so desired, the contractors could supply the materials themselves for which they would be reimbursed by the state.²⁶

A few months after Capt. Devereux circulated this advertisement through the state's newspapers, Governor Clark directed a letter to the "Proprietors of Cotton Factories in North Carolina." In the letter the governor informed these men that the state was in "absolute want of cotton goods, especially domestic cloth" for the use of the states volunteer troops. The factory owners were asked to fulfill the needs of the state prior to fulfilling the needs of individuals they might be contracted with. In fact, the mill owners were encouraged to suspend any current contracts and were strongly discouraged from entering into any new contracts. The governor appealed to their patriotic zeal and recommended that they enter into exclusive contracts with the state to meet the demands of its soldiers.²⁷

Similarly, Governor Vance appealed to the state's cotton manufacturers in May 1863 anticipating that the fall of Vicksburg would cut off the state's supply of wool from Texas. The cotton manufacturers were asked to assist the state's production efforts by furnishing the necessary supplies to the state so that the army would be properly clothed through the upcoming fall and winter. Vance insisted that if these cotton manufacturers were not willing to cooperate, he saw no possibility that the army could be clothed. The

²⁵ A single company was typically composed of one hundred men.

²⁶ Receipt of Purchase, October 8, 1861, John Devereux Papers, NCOAH.

²⁷ Clark to The Proprietors of Cotton Factories in North Carolina, November 6, 1861, Governor Henry T. Clark Papers, NCOAH.

proprietors of these cotton mills were notified that assistant quartermaster Henry A. Dowd, who by 1863 was overseeing the state's clothing production factory in Raleigh, would be contacting them in person to explain the needs of the quartermaster's department and arranging for contracts with them.²⁸ As evidence will later show, these manufacturers were slow to answer these requests, but by 1863 almost every textile mill in North Carolina was selling a portion of its output to the state.

The appeals of these state leaders were an effort to make sure that North Carolina's textile production benefited North Carolina troops. If they had not acted as quickly as they did, the textile production of the state would have been contracted by the Confederate government or by other southern states. Confederate agents descended upon the state's textile mills as soon as the state officially seceded. This is demonstrated by the fact that on May 26, 1861, Confederate Quartermaster General, A.C. Myers, sent purchasing agents into North Carolina to visit the Rock Island Wool factory, also known as Young, Wriston, and Orr, in Charlotte to establish contracts for the production of army clothing.²⁹ Fortunately for the state, the agreement entered into with the Confederate government in 1861 called for the Confederates to withdraw their purchasing agents and to turn over their contracts in North Carolina to the state, which prevented further actions such as these. This allowed the state to establish a firm grasp on the output of its textile

²⁸ Vance to Cotton Manufacturers, May 16, 1863, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 151-153.

²⁹ Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 22.

mills. Had the state not been able to do so, it would have been left to scramble for contracts with its own manufacturers.

Soon however, the Confederate government broke its agreement and began calling on the state's textile mills for supplies. In his address to the General Assembly in November 1862, Governor Vance bemoaned the fact that the state was "swarming with agents of the Confederate States, stripping bare our markets and putting enormous prices upon our agents....the consequence had been that our troops could not get half the supplies from home and nothing at all from the Confederate Government."³⁰ By 1865, *DeBow's Review* reported that the Confederate government acquired most of its supply of cotton goods from North Carolina. It also noted that they had established large purchasing contracts with the state's woolen manufacturers for enormous amounts of woolen cloth.³¹ The short time that the state had to establish contracts with their textile manufacturers made it possible for them not to lose total control over the destination of their overall output.

An account book of the North Carolina treasurer and comptroller records the presence of eight woolen mills and forty-six cotton mills operating in the state by 1862. These companies were providing the state with all forms for clothing from uniforms to shirts to drawers. Some of these mills, like the Fries Mill, produced both wool and cotton cloth for the state. See Tables 3, 4, and 5:

³⁰ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina 1861-1865* (Raleigh, 1901), vol.1, 26.

³¹ Elizabeth Yates Webb, "Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861-1865," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 9 no. 2 (April 1932): 127.

Table 3. Woolen Mills in North Carolina - 1862³²

<i>Mill/Proprietor Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Rock Island Factory/Young, Wriston, & Orr	Charlotte
T.R. Tate	Charlotte
A.R. Homesly	Shelby
F&H Fries/Francis and Henry Fries*	Salem
N.H. Penley & Company	Lincolnton
Stanely & Mendenhall	Jamestown
Orange Factory/W.H. Willard*	Orange County
Richmond Manufacturing Company	Rockingham

*denotes that the mill was still operating in 1878**

Table 4. Cotton Mills in North Carolina - 1862³³

<i>Mill/Proprietor Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Cross Creek Company	Fayetteville
Beaver Creek Company*	Fayetteville
Huchison Reid & Company	Fayetteville
Blount Creek Company	Fayetteville
Rockfish Manufacturing Company/ Charles T. Haigh	Fayetteville
Lowell Mills	Johnston County (on Black Creek)
William Battle	Rocky Mount
Richmond Manufacturing Company	Rockingham
Orange Factory/W.H. Willard*	Orange County
Granite Factory/Thomas M. Holt*	Haw River
John Newland & Son	Saxapahaw
Clover Orchard Factory*	Haw River/Southern Alamance County
Alamance Factory/Edwin M. Holt*	Gibsonville
Murray & Brothers	Alamance (Big Falls)

³² Cotton and Wool Account Book 1862-1865, Treasurer and Comptroller's Papers, Military Collection, NCOAH; *Documenting The American South*, March 28, 2005, "Tabulated Statement of Industries and Resources of North Carolina," <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/polk78/polk.html>. (accessed May 15, 2005).

³³ Cotton and Wool Account Book 1862-1865, Treasurer and Comptroller's Papers, Military Collection, NCOAH; *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/polk78/polk.html>, 15 May 2005.

Columbia Mills	Franklinsville ³⁴
Coffin Faust & Company	Franklinsville
Cedar Falls Company*	Cedar Falls
Union Mills/Jesse Walker	Fayetteville
Wilson & Gray	Salem
F&H Fries/Francis and Henry Fries*	Salem
Cooper & Gray	Salem
Leaksville Cotton Mills/E. Morehead*	Leaksville
R.L. Patterson & Company	Patterson
Powell & Shuford	Catawba Station
J.F Patterson	Location Not Specified
Buck Shoal Mills	Yadkin County
Eagle Mill/Thomas N. Cooper	Eagle City
A. Clarke & Company	Rock Creek (Iredell County)
Harper & Company	Harper's Ford (Caldwell County)
J. L. Christian	Montgomery County
J.M. McDonald & Son	Concord
T.R. Tate	Charlotte
Woodlawn Mills/Lineburger & Company*	Gaston County
Stowesville Cotton Mills/	Gaston County
Stowe & Brother*	
Phifer & Allison	Lincolnton
High Falls Company	Location Not Specified
Elkin Manufacturing Company*	Elkin
Turner's Mill	Turnersburg
Holmes, Mauney, & Company	Troy
J.W. Brower	Mount Airy
Steel Creek Factory/W.H. Neel	Charlotte
J.W. Jones & Company	Taylorsville
James Cobb & Company	Double Shoals
Cox and Barden	Johnston County
Phifer and Niscler	Concord

** denotes that the mill was still operating in 1878.*

³⁴ Evidence indicates Franklinsville was the previous name of what is known now as Franklinville which is located in Randolph County near Asheboro. Period records indicate that Franklinsville was located in Randolph County.

The mills listed in Table 5 were not included in the treasurer and comptrollers account book, but operated in North Carolina and contracted with the state for a portion of their output during the war:

*Table 5. Other Cotton and Woolen Mills in North Carolina*³⁵

<i>Mill/Proprietor Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Hughes & Best	Salem
Howard & Beard	Sailsbury
Yadkin Manufacturing Company	Yadkin County
Concord Mills	Concord
Deep River Factory/Dennis Curtis*	Randolph County
Cedar Shoals Factory	Franklinsville
Fayetteville Mills/John Shaw	Fayetteville
Penly & Childs	Lincolnton
Elias & Cohen	Charlotte
Coal Spring Mill Sock Factory/John Lee	Fayetteville
Little River Factory/Duncan Murchison	Fayetteville
James Webb	Hillsboro
New Bern Mill	New Bern
Rocky River Mills*	Cabarrus County
Long Island*	Catawba County
Granite Shoals*	Catawba County
Hamburg Mills*	Mt. Airy
Taylorsville Cotton Mill*	Taylorsville
Ivy Shoals Cotton Factory*	Lincolnton
Broad Rim Mills*	Cleveland County
Phoenix Mills	Fayetteville
Big Falls Mill	Location Not Specified
Catawba Mills	"
James Town Factory	Jamestown
Laurel Falls	Location Not Specified
Jones, Mendenhall, & Gardner	"

³⁵ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 150, 138, 141, 217, 234, 293-294; *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/polk78/polk.html>, 15 May 2005. It should be noted that some of these businesses may be listed twice since it was a common practice of the time for the business to be referred to by its operational name or by the name of its owner or owners.

Mountain Island	“
Swift Island	“
Wachovia	Location Not Specified

** denotes that the mill was still operating in 1878.*

While these mills were much smaller in size than their northern counterparts, they were still sizable operations for a textile mill in the South. Working days at these mills were often long, grueling, and demanding. Typical routine called for the machinery to begin running at daybreak. A full day's work was extended well into the evening as the mill laborers took the cotton and wool through its process of carding, spinning, and weaving. Saturday, which was traditionally a half day, became a full day's work, and the installation of lighting within the factories allowed the workday to be lengthened. Records from the Cedar Falls Company, which operated 50 looms and 2,400 spindles, show that the average workday at the factory in November 1860 was 10 ½ hours a day, but by May 1861 these workers averaged a 12 ½-hour workday. When the war progressed and production was shifted into high gear, workers at Cedar Falls averaged a 77-hour work week.³⁶

By 1861, the Fries Mill was operating three sets of 40-inch wool card machines, 3 pairs of custom roll card machines, 2 spinning mules, 36 narrow looms, and 500 cotton spindles.³⁷ John W. Fries, Francis Fries's son, recounted that he went to work in the Fries

³⁶ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 151-153.

³⁷ Samuel Crompton developed the spinning mule in 1775. It was labeled the spinning mule because it combined the features of two earlier inventions, the spinning jenny and the water frame. The spinning mule produced a strong, fine, and soft yarn which could be used in all kinds of textiles. The original models were hand operated, but

Mill in the summer of 1861 at age fourteen. His days varied from twelve to eighteen hours. He discovered that he enjoyed working from midnight until supper rather than from breakfast until midnight. The installation of rosin gas lighting made these long hours possible. This lighting apparatus had been installed in the plant in the late 1850s. The rosin lighting was advantageous for use in the factory because it provided a superior quality of lighting over coal or water gas.³⁸

The labor force in these factories changed as the war progressed as well. Prior to the war, most factory jobs were held by skilled white male laborers. When the war came, however, they were replaced by women, children, and slaves. Following the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861, a large portion of skilled factory workers left their jobs to join the army. The loss of such skilled laborers posed a serious threat to production in the mills. In addition, the absence of these skilled workers made it much more difficult to train new employees to take their places.

In response to the loss of such skilled labor, Francis Fries lamented in January 1862 "the volunteering of so many young men out of our employment [has] left us very short of hands..." By October 1862, Fries employed a total of 79 workers of which there were 29 white males, 36 white females, and 14 black males. Of these 79 employees only 13 were between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Fries eventually employed as many

later improvements allowed it to be run by steam engines operating as many as 400 spindles. "Spinning Mule," <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/TEXmule.htm>. (accessed June 20, 2005).

³⁸ *Diary of the Fries Mill, Salem, NC*. Francis L. Fries Diary, Private Collections, NCOAH; John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH.

as 40 slaves, of which half were leased to him. These slaves functioned as engineers, wool carders, grinders, wool spinners, fullers, dyers, soap boilers, carpenters, and nurses to name just a few of the tasks. According to his son, Francis Fries took good care of his slaves whether he owned them himself or leased them from someone else. When a slave came down sick and showed a “bad tongue” they were given an emetic to empty their stomach and Epsom salt to clean out their bowels. In the event that this treatment was not effective, a doctor was called in to treat the patient who would then have been seen to by Harris, a slave who functioned as the sick nurse. At war’s end, Fries employed a total of 108 laborers. Of this total, nineteen were former slaves.³⁹

At the Cedar Falls Factory, the workforce was replenished largely by women. In late October 1862, the factory employed 106 hands of which 24 were males, and 82 were females. Of these 106 employees, none was a slave or a free black. By May 1864, only 6 of the factories’ 85 employees were men. In late 1863, Coffin Faust and Company employed 57 operatives of which 11 were white males and 46 females, but there is no indication whether or not any of these females were black.⁴⁰ While this is clear evidence of the fact that many skilled men either volunteered or were conscripted into the army, the success of these mills depended on the skills of these men. There is no evidence that either the state or the Confederate government intended to replace these skilled workers

³⁹ *Diary of the Fries Mill, Salem, NC*. Francis L. Fries Diary, Private Collections, NCOAH; John W. Fries to D.H. Hill, April 4, 1923, Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH; Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 44, 151, 254.

⁴⁰ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 151; Ayer to Vance, October 25, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 279.

with women. In several instances this was tried and failed. James Newlin concluded after allowing a weave room worker to turn over his loom to his sister “the work he done is too hard for a girl and his sister is unable now to keep it up.” To prevent the loss of skilled workers from becoming a severe burden on the production of these mills, Confederate and state authorities allowed mill owners to seek exemptions for a number of their skilled workers so that the mills were not left solely with unskilled workers to train. This is most likely the reason the Cedar Falls Factory had 6 men in its work force in 1864.⁴¹

Confederate authorities passed laws early on that exempted mill superintendents and operatives from military service. In North Carolina, the mills agreed to furnish the state with a portion of their goods at a set profit in return for the exemption of their managers and employees from conscription. This agreement also allowed the mill owners the right to sell the remainder of their output at whatever price it would bring. As the war progressed, more stringent laws were passed which made it much more difficult for these factories to be granted exemptions for their workers. The mills were forbidden from charging private buyers more for their goods than they charged the government. Additional laws penalized profiteering and restricted exemptions to factories whose profits did not exceed 75% of their production costs. Those factories whose profits exceeded 75% had the profits taxed by the state and were refused exemptions for their workers after the passage of an act in early 1863.⁴² These laws were passed in an effort to control the prices of goods. The authorities felt that if they could control the price

⁴¹ Beatty, *Alamance*, 80-81.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 81; Webb, “State Regulation,” 131, 133.

charged by manufacturers then it would reduce the price charged to consumers. While their effort helped the situation to an extent, by and large the prices charged for goods were exorbitant. These made it difficult for typical citizens to purchase simple everyday goods given their earned wages were so low.

The money earned by these factory workers increased throughout the war due to inflation and the devaluation of Confederate currency, but not proportionately to the rate of inflation. At the Fries Mill in Salem, the average monthly take-home pay rose from \$14.53 in January 1861 to \$52.18 by November 1864. During this same time span, the average take home pay for workers at the mill was as low as \$10.61 in September 1861 and as high as \$76.13 in May 1864. Records show that the wages at the mill dropped slightly during 1861, but by 1862 the wages rose gradually until the end of the war. The wages varied month-to-month, but by and large wages rose throughout the war.⁴³ Even though wages rose during the war, they were typically only a fraction of antebellum wages once inflation was factored in. Wages at the Richmond Manufacturing Company in Rockingham equaled less than three-quarters of their antebellum value. An employee at the factory, William Barton, made \$152 in August 1864, which was ten times what he was earning in 1860. However, Mr. Barton's wage increased at half the rate of inflation which made it extremely difficult for him to provide for the needs of his family from his salary alone. Some employees at the Richmond mill chose to receive their pay in the form of bartered goods instead of currency. In December 1864, Mrs. Thomas Barton bartered

⁴³ Eugene Lerner, "Money, Prices, and Wages in the Confederacy, 1861-1865" (MA thesis, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, 1954), 166-174.

two loads of wood, two gallons of syrup, twenty-four pounds of flour, one bushel of peas, and some salt for her monthly wages. In January 1865, Mrs. Barton received three bundles of yarn, one-quarter bushel of peas, nineteen-and-a-half pounds of bacon, two plugs of tobacco, and other miscellaneous items for her wages.⁴⁴ Research shows that for some individuals this system of bartering was more advantageous than receiving worthless currency. Bartering became more common and widespread as the war progressed so that by the end of the war it was a standard and accepted practice.

The situation in the textile mills was very similar to the situation on the small family farms throughout the South. Additional responsibility fell to womenfolk since men were away on the battlefield. These women assumed the roles in the textile mill and on the farm that the men had previously tended to while continuing to be responsible for their normal tasks around the house and in the garden. Women during the Civil War played roles similar to women during World War II, just in a different capacity. As during the 1940s, many of the jobs in the factories were considered temporary until the skilled workers returned from the battlefield. Most women would be expected to return to the home once the war was over and they were no longer needed to fill the jobs of men. The Civil War was somewhat of a dress rehearsal for the role women would play during World War II (on a larger scale). While many mills would continue to employ women after the war, they were typically not employed on the same scale or in skilled positions.

Although hindered by the loss of skilled workers and inflation, the textile mills in North Carolina performed an admirable job supplying the state with goods for its soldiers

⁴⁴ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 215.

and citizens. When the war began in 1861, the state's cotton mills were only producing a fraction of the total goods being consumed by the state, but by 1862 there was enough cotton material being produced within North Carolina to meet the general needs of the state's citizens, supply the needs of the state's soldiers, and enough in excess to supply a considerable amount to other southern states.⁴⁵

The woolen mills of North Carolina, such as the Fries Mill, produced an estimated total of 531,600 yards of fabric per year. Receipts from the Fries Mill show that in 1864 the state supplied the mill with eight thousand pounds of wool to be manufactured into cloth for the state and that the firm of Young, Wriston, and Orr of Charlotte was performing similar tasks at the state's request. The Fries Mill alone provided the state with 221,850 ½ yards of material from June 12, 1861 to December 30, 1864 for which the state paid \$724,665.59. This means that for roughly a thirty-one month period, the Fries Mill supplied the state with an average of 7,157 yards of woolen material per month. Quartermaster receipts show that the Fries Mill was providing the state with kersey and jeans wool as well as small amounts of cotton goods throughout the war.⁴⁶

The state supplemented this domestic supply by importing a large quantity of woolen goods from Britain. Cotton goods, however, were produced almost exclusively within the state. At the urging of two governors, Clark and Vance, and recognizing the need of the soldiers in the field, by 1863 practically every mill in the State was furnishing

⁴⁵ Webb, "State Regulation," 127, 130.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 136; Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH; Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 160; Kersey wool is a coarse heavy fabric typically of poor quality used for uniforms, coats, and work clothes.

material to the state quartermaster. Typically North Carolina authorities required these textile mills to sell the state one-third of their output, but this amount varied from factory to factory and according to the state's needs, while a number of mills sold their entire output to the state. The most common requirement by the state was that the factories provide its quartermaster 50 bundles of yarn and 2,000 yards of cotton sheeting per week.⁴⁷

Records from the Cedar Falls Factory indicated that by October 1862 the factory had secured a contract with the state for \$10,000 worth of cotton goods per month. The week preceding October 25, 1862, the factory delivered \$2,644 worth of goods to the state. This factory was a source of cotton sheeting, Osnaburg, cotton yarn, and ready made cotton shirts and drawers for the state.⁴⁸ In one month's production, twenty-five days, the factory turned out 32,500 yards of cotton sheeting and 1,125 bundles of yarn. The Deep River Manufacturing Company was also a source for cotton sheeting and yarn. One month's production at this factory turned out 15,500 yards of cotton sheeting and 500 bundles of yarn. At Coffin Faust and Company, the workforce produced 19,968 yards of sheeting and 1,170 bundles of yarn in twenty-six days of operation. The Eagle Mills owned by Thomas N. Cooper produced 700 pounds of yarn daily. Cooper also

⁴⁷ Webb, "State Regulation," 127, 136.

⁴⁸ Osnaburg is coarse linen fabric that by the early 19th century was used as a supplement for linen in America.

provided woolen manufacturers with cotton warp needed for the production of jeans wool.⁴⁹

It was this type of domestic production that enabled the state to successfully purchase and produce the garments needed by its soldiers. Without this existing textile industry, North Carolina, like many of her southern sister states, would have been forced to purchase cloth outside of the state in a market already flooded by purchasers from the central government and various other states. The fact that North Carolina possessed one-third of the Confederacy's entire textile production was a blessing to the state and its quartermaster. The established industry and available workforce made it possible for these manufacturing firms to meet the demands placed upon them not only by the state authorities but by the Confederate authorities as well.

When the Union army invaded the heart of North Carolina in 1865, the textile factories were one of their first targets. The Richmond Manufacturing Company was the first mill to be torched by Union forces when troopers of the Third U.S. Cavalry passed through Rockingham. On March 12, 1865, Union forces commanded by William T. Sherman took Fayetteville without opposition. The city of Fayetteville and Cumberland County were home to several textile mills in North Carolina at the time. When General O.O. Howard's men reached the Rockfish community south of Fayetteville, a soldier recounted they quickly "burned a factory, throwing about 150 women out of employment." Soon General Sherman ordered the burning of the Phoenix, Union Mills, Blount Creek, Beaver Creek, Cross Creek, and Little River factories as well as the

⁴⁹ Ayer to Vance, October 25, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 279-280.

demolition of other mill properties. Fayetteville was surrounded by pillars of smoke as the Union soldiers brought Sherman's total-war philosophy to bear on North Carolina.⁵⁰

Further west, Patterson's factory, in Caldwell County north of Lenoir, was burned by soldiers of the Thirteenth Tennessee Cavalry (U.S.) on March 29, 1865. The soldiers burned Patterson's factory that afternoon and destroyed anything of substance they could find. A few days later on April 1, members of General George Stoneman's Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry rode upon the Elkin Factory north of Winston-Salem. This was a sizable cotton factory that employed sixty young women. Apparently these young girls were delighted to see the Union soldiers as one soldier recounted "all of them welcomed the Yankees." The superintendent of the factory met the soldiers outside and graciously offered to give them a tour of the facility which the soldiers accepted. In return, Stoneman's men did not harm the Elkin factory, but did choose to help themselves to some flour, meat, butter, honey, molasses, tobacco, and chestnuts which were kept in a storehouse attached to the factory. These men then proceeded to Salem where they were "instructed to...destroy the large factory engaged in making cloth for the 'rebel' army." Anticipating such a raid, Henry Fries took action by distributing the commissary stores kept in the factory to the local citizens for them to safeguard in their homes. Amazingly amidst all the confusion, Fries kept a ledger of 149 people who took items such as cloth, thread, wax, tools, brooms, and bobbins. Fortunately for the Fries Mill, many of the soldiers in this Pennsylvania cavalry regiment were from Pennsylvania Moravian

⁵⁰ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 216-217.

communities which had typically retained close ties to their Moravian brethren in North Carolina. Therefore, they spared the mill destruction.⁵¹

Nevertheless, John W. Fries recounted that the Yankees had broken down the doors and taken all the finished goods in the mill, all of the cloth from the looms, and had cut the belts off the machinery. He was surprised to find out a few days later that a large portion of the goods taken from the mill had been taken by members of the community. Upon being confronted, some of them surrendered what they had taken while others had to be pressured. Those who willingly surrendered what they had taken insisted they had taken the items to keep them from falling into the hands of the Yankee soldiers or because they feared the mill would be burned.⁵²

Proceeding to Statesville, Stoneman's men burned Eagle Mills, another unspecified large factory, and 7,000 bales of cotton. Turner's Mill at Turnersburg in Iredell County was spared for some unknown reason. Confederate accounts indicate that the home guard fought off the Union forces near Turnersburg, but Federal accounts make no mention of such an engagement. The cavalry troopers then made their way to Lincolnton where a factory was located that made a large quantity of cloth for the Confederate army. Before burning the mill, a Union cavalry officer, William L. Bratton, ordered the employees of the mill to cease the production of cloth and to take as much of the cotton home with them as they could. The employees filled bags of all types, pillow

⁵¹ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 224-225. The Fries family was a member of the Moravian community in Salem.

⁵² Fries Papers, Private Collections, NCOAH.

cases, and mattresses with cotton and carried it off to their homes. Soon thereafter, the mill was torched.⁵³

On April 12, Stoneman's men made their way to Salisbury where a large prison and manufacturing facility were located. General Stoneman reported that the property captured and destroyed by his men, mostly at Salisbury, included 100,000 suits of gray uniform clothing and 250,000 blankets. A Union major placed in charge of destroying these items reported burning an additional \$15 million worth of Confederate currency and medical supplies valued at \$100,000 in gold.⁵⁴

The surrender of Confederate forces by Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston prevented larger cities, such as Charlotte and Raleigh, from suffering similar devastation. The fall of the Confederacy left many of the mill owners with debts owed to them by the failed government. Two mills in particular suffered monetary losses from their contract with the Confederate government. The Fries Mill lost \$95,755, and the Union Mill lost \$18,405 it was never able to recover. By the end of the war many of the factories that were not burned or destroyed were in pathetic state of existence. The grind of running night and day had left much of the machinery literally worn out and dilapidated. Some of the mills' machinery was so run down that the goods they were able to produce were not of saleable quality. Some of these factories were sold very cheaply after the war, while some were so damaged that they could not even attract a buyer.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibid., 225-226.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 226.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 236; Webb, "State Regulation," 137.

The textile industry in North Carolina suffered a setback following defeat in the Civil War, but it soon recovered. By 1867, thirty-three mills were in operation in the state. A census of cotton and woolen manufacturers operating in North Carolina in 1878 revealed that by this time fifty-three were in active use. A North Carolina official questioned the motivation of the Union raids on the state's textile mills at the end of the war and pondered if they were carried out "with an eye also to the suppression of the rivalry which might grow formidable after the restoration of peace, with the advantages possessed by the South in climate, in the cost of living, in the savings of the cost of transportation, and the more decided advantage in the proximity of the cotton field."⁵⁶

The contribution of the factories and the factory workers to the North Carolina soldiers in the field during the Civil War is impossible to measure. However, its contributions led to North Carolina troops being among the best supplied soldiers in the field. This is verified by an officer from the 21st Regiment North Carolina State Troops who commented during the winter of 1862-1863 "our regiments are better prepared for the winter than almost any other troops that I have seen in the service." The contribution of these factory workers was also recognized by the enemy's leaders. According to the personal account of Melinda Ray, a worker at the Rockfish Manufacturing Company in Fayetteville, when pleas were made for General Sherman to spare the factory for the sake of the women and children, he replied that they were the very ones he desired to make feel the war. He insisted had it not been for them, this rebellion would have been crushed

⁵⁶ Webb, "State Regulation," 137; *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/unc/polk78/polk.html>, 15 May 2005; North Carolina, State Board of Education, *North Carolina and its Resources* [Raleigh, 1896], 188.

much sooner.⁵⁷ These words by General Sherman, while spoken in frustration, are truly a complement to the people of North Carolina. It was through their perseverance and hard work that the war was able to be sustained and that their troops were made to suffer less by being well provided for and clothed.

⁵⁷ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 217, 319 fn149.

Chapter Three

Foreign Operations

When the State of North Carolina took upon itself the task of clothing its own troops in September 1861, officials intended to do so with the resources of the State and those of various other southern sister states. Governor Zebulon B. Vance wrote in November 1862 that North Carolina, like most other southern states, had been largely dependent on the northern states for its supplies of manufactured goods before the war. Vance noted that under normal circumstances the State could supply itself from its own resources, but the ongoing conflict with the United States caused a labor shortage and limited production.¹ Despite the fact that North Carolina's thirty-nine cotton and seven woolen mills produced one-third of the Confederacy's entire textile capacity, such output would not be sufficient to properly equip North Carolina's troops.² This dilemma forced the State Adjutant General James G. Martin to look abroad in order to supply troops. The plan he developed proved to be one of the most remarkable undertakings of a state government during the entire Civil War.

¹ Zebulon B. Vance, November 15, 1862, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*. Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley, 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. I, 362.

² Richard D. Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1969), 70; Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), 69.

By the summer of 1862, Adjutant General Martin resigned himself to the fact that in order to supply the demands of the 67,000 men now in state service, he would have to rethink his current means of procuring materials and resources.³ This number of soldiers had increased by roughly 30,000 since the legislature had directed the Adjutant General to provide clothing to state troops in September 1861. In an effort to fulfill this demand, General Martin requested permission from Governor Henry T. Clark to purchase supplies abroad and a ship to transport them. Clark refused to act on the request and chose to leave the decision to the incoming governor, Zebulon B. Vance.⁴

At this point in the war, North Carolina soldiers were among the worst provisioned soldiers in the Confederate Army. Governor Vance's military service had shown him first-hand how poorly the North Carolina and Confederate authorities had provided for their soldiers.⁵ Therefore, he was reluctant to place faith in the Confederate government to supply North Carolina troops even after the commutation system was abolished in October 1862.⁶

³ John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 254.

⁴ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina 1861-1865* (Raleigh, 1901), vol.1, 17.

⁵ Zebulon Vance helped raise Company F "The Rough and Ready Guards" of the 14th North Carolina. He served as Captain of this company until August 1861 when he was elected Colonel of the 26th North Carolina, the position which he held when he was elected governor in August of 1862.

⁶ Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 110-111.

Shortly after Vance's inauguration as governor, General Martin approached him with his proposal. Even though he was personally intrigued by the proposal, Governor Vance chose the more cautious approach of reserving the right to render a decision on the proposal at a later date. General Martin continued to press the issue until Vance finally invited him to the executive office where Martin and Vance met with some prominent men of the state concerning the issue. A gentleman named B.F. Moore, who acted as the spokesman for those present, argued that the Governor and Adjutant General possessed no legal authority to purchase a ship and that by doing so they would both risk impeachment.⁷ General Martin argued that the laws of the state required him to furnish clothing to North Carolina troops and that the resources of the state were not adequate for him to perform this task. Martin insisted that transport ships were as necessary as wagons, mules, and other forms of transportation which the law did not address.⁸ Martin also pointed out that large sums of money had been appropriated for the purpose of

⁷ Bartholomew Figures Moore (1801-1878) was a lawyer in Nash and Halifax County until 1836, and again in 1840, 1842, and 1844 when he was elected to the North Carolina House of Commons. While in the House of Commons, Moore championed internal improvements, public schools, and the establishment of asylums and hospitals for the unfortunate. From 1848 to 1851 he served as attorney-general. He resigned his job as attorney-general when he was selected as a commissioner to revise the statute law of the state which resulted in *The Revised Code of North Carolina... 1854*. In the secession debate Moore believed that the South had a legitimate grievance, but did not agree with the right of secession. During the war, Moore made his admiration for the Union well-known, but did not participate in any peace movements. William S. Powell and Peter Graham Fish, eds., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 4 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979-1996), 294-295; *North Carolina Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2 (New York: Somerset Publishers, 1999), 404-406.

⁸ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, I, 17.

supplying clothing for the troops in the field without any restriction as to where such purchases were to be made.⁹

To finance this endeavor, Martin suggested that Confederate notes be used to purchase a large stock of cotton. Bonds, or warrants, would then be issued on this cotton stock which would allow the State to use cotton as the bill of exchange where North Carolina or Confederate currency would not be available or readily accepted.¹⁰ This process allowed the North Carolina purchasing agents to convert cotton bonds into the accepted bills of exchange in the country of which they planned to conduct business.¹¹

After giving himself several days to consider each position taken on General Martin's proposition, the Governor decided to allow General Martin to put his plan into action. Vance believed that the law did not authorize nor prohibit blockade running, therefore it was conceivable that the State could enter into the business without breaking the law. He approved General Martin's request and eventually the Legislature approved the actions of the governor, which put the matter to rest.¹²

After agreeing to General Martin's plan, Vance requested funding from the state legislature. On November 19, 1862, he appeared before the two houses of the North Carolina legislature in secret session. He explained the necessity of the foreign endeavor

⁹ Ibid., 29.

¹⁰ Ibid., 28-29.

¹¹ By and large these cotton bonds would be sold in Britain giving the purchasing agents a utilizable sum of British pounds. These pounds were then used by North Carolina purchasing agents to acquire supplies throughout the United Kingdom.

¹² Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, I, 29.

and requested funds to finance the undertaking. The legislature responded by appropriating two million dollars for the venture.¹³ With this money the State purchased large quantities of domestic cotton and made arrangements to store it in North Carolina warehouses owned by the State. Cotton bonds were issued on this stock which entitled purchasers to the staple upon sixty day's notice with seven percent interest to be paid until delivery. Vance promised that the State would deliver the cotton to any Confederate port east of the Mississippi. Foreign clients, however, bore the responsibility of shipping the cotton abroad.¹⁴

The personal account of Captain William H. Oliver provides a detailed look into this process of acquiring a stock of cotton for the State. Captain Oliver was commissioned in the early months of 1863 by Governor Vance to "purchase cotton for blockade running purposes." Major John Devereux, North Carolina's Chief Quartermaster, ordered Oliver to "buy every bale of cotton that I could purchase, and to pay a stipulated price of 25 cents per pound." Oliver goes on to note that he "went at once to the sections nearest the Federal lines, so as to get all the cotton out of the reach of the Federal troops if a raid should be made by them." In what Oliver refers to as "a short amount of time" he was able to purchase roughly 7,000 bales of cotton for which he paid an estimated total of \$700,000.¹⁵

¹³ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

¹⁵ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, I, 32.

After purchasing this vast amount of cotton, it then had to be transported by rail to warehouses where it was to be stored. The scarcity of railroad accommodations made the transport of the cotton a tedious matter. Prior arrangements had been made to transport the cotton to Wilmington where it would be shipped through the blockade. However, a large portion of the cotton was transported to a state-owned warehouse in Graham, NC, located just southwest of Burlington, because the presence of Federal troops in the eastern portions of the State made it unsafe to leave the cotton there while waiting to be transported to Wilmington.¹⁶

Having established a means of financing the project, State authorities then turned their efforts toward the actual business abroad. Upon the suggestion of Major Thomas D. Hogg, the North Carolina Commissary Chief, Governor Vance selected native Scotsman John White of Warrenton, North Carolina to serve as the State's purchasing agent in Britain.¹⁷ White had been born in Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire, Scotland and came to Warrenton when he was about fourteen years old. In Warrenton, he established a mercantile business with his brother, Thomas. He operated the business with his brother until 1845, when Thomas White relocated to Petersburg, Virginia. During the 1850s, John White offered to his customers what has been described as "the handsomest stock of dry goods and notions in North Carolina." His business came to be known later as White & Thorpe and was

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 17.

changed to Arrington, White & Company when his son-in-law was admitted into the business.¹⁸

John White's commission as a Special Commissioner was delivered to him in early November 1862. The commission called for Mr. White to visit Europe and negotiate the sale of North Carolina and Confederate Cotton bonds. With the monies raised from the sale of these bonds or "in any other way" White "may be able to do so." He was instructed by State authorities to purchase supplies for North Carolina's troops and citizens.¹⁹

Upon accepting his commission, John White and the State entered into a contract for his services on November 10, 1862. The contract included the responsibilities listed above and further stated that Commissioner White would be entrusted to use his "skill, energy, and prudence in purchasing....such articles as...Zebulon B. Vance may direct." In return, the Governor agreed to pay all the necessary expenses of the expedition and to furnish the funds which were necessary to make the arranged purchases. As personal compensation, the State agreed to pay John White five thousand dollars in cash. The contract also called for the State to pay White an additional two-and-a-half percent commission on expenditures amounting to five hundred thousand dollars and/or a one-

¹⁸ *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 288, fn1.

¹⁹ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, November 1, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 288-289.

and-a-half percent commission on expenditures amounting to between 500 thousand and one million dollars.²⁰

With the commission and the contact established, White agreed to leave his business interests and sail for Britain under one final condition. He requested that his son-in-law, S.P. Arrington of the 12th North Carolina Regiment, be reassigned by the army so that he may tend to White's business interests while White was abroad.²¹ The governor agreed and began petitioning Confederate Secretary of War, George W. Randolph, on Arrington's behalf by October 28, 1862. Vance instructed Arrington to travel to Warrenton on sick leave until he arranged Arrington's reassignment. After his furlough expired, the Governor sent Arrington an official letter stating that he was responsible for his absence from the army and that Arrington was to remain at home until Vance secured his reassignment. This arrangement made Arrington decidedly uncomfortable. He wrote to the governor in late November that "I would feel much better satisfied if I had a paper directly from headquarters ordering me to remain (in Warrenton)." He asked the governor to make such an arrangement that "would exonerate me from all blame in the matter if

²⁰ Ibid., November 10, 1862, I, 327-328.

²¹ Samuel Peter Arrington of Warren County was then serving as quartermaster sergeant in the 12th North Carolina Regiment. Arrington had married one of John White's daughters and became a partner in his father-in-laws business. After the war, he joined his father, Dr. John Arrington, and his brother, Richard T. Arrington, in the cotton commission business. The Arrington's operated out of Petersburg, Virginia. After roughly fifteen years in Petersburg, Arrington moved back to Warrenton and established a large business in bright leaf tobacco. He remained in Warrenton until he died in 1893. *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 290, fn4.

there should ever be any attached.”²² Much to Vance’s surprise the Confederate Secretary of War, George Randolph and later James Seddon,²³ both refused to authorize Arrington’s detail. In March 1863 Vance wrote President Davis concerning the matter. He notified Davis concerning the urgency of the case explaining that Mr. White’s services could not have been obtained without this “positive promise” on behalf of the governor regarding his son-in-law’s detail.²⁴ The appeal to President Davis was effective, because Arrington’s reassignment was approved by the Confederate authorities that same month.²⁵

Although the Governor encountered this problem securing Arrington’s reassignment, John White set sail for Britain on November 15, 1862 according to his personal account. He left from Charleston on the steamer *Leopard* for Nassau where he arrived on November 22. He remained in Nassau until December 2, 1862 when he set sail from Nassau to Liverpool on the steamer *Bonita*. White arrived in Liverpool on December 23rd and made his way to London where he arrived January 5, 1863.²⁶

²² S.P. Arrington to Zebulon B. Vance, November 26, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 290, 404.

²³ James Seddon had assumed the role of Confederate Secretary of War on November 20, 1862 after health problems forced George W. Randolph to step down.

²⁴ Zebulon B. Vance to Jefferson Davis, March 7, 1863, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 83.

²⁵ McKinney, *Zeb Vance*, 136.

²⁶ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, V, 453.

In an effort to assist White in carrying out his assignment, Vance sent a document with him which detailed North Carolina's current financial status. The letter also explained why the State was resorting to sending commissioners abroad to purchase much needed supplies. State property which belonged to its citizens and existed within its borders was valued at \$500 million. The value of slave property within the State was valued at \$200 million and the public debt of the state totaled \$21 million.²⁷ These figures clearly showed potential purchasers of cotton bonds and/or lenders that the State was in excellent financial shape at the time. These figures also indicated the level of investment the State had made in the cotton business. Lastly, the State proposed to repay any money that may be borrowed by White and guaranteed that the debt would be "payable semi-annually by remittance of cotton at market rates."²⁸

Besides detailing the State's financial status to Commissioner White, Governor Vance provided specific instructions to the commissioner concerning the sale of cotton bonds. He advised White not to permit a discount on the bonds of the State above 40%. He instructed White not to sell at that rate unless it became absolutely necessary in order for him to conduct business. The governor made it clear that his desire was for White not to go any lower "than 75 cents upon the dollar and [I] have strong hopes that you can sell at 85 or 90 (cents on the dollar)."²⁹

²⁷ Zebulon B. Vance, November 15, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 362-363.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, November 15, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 361.

Other than Commissioner White, Governor Vance had two other men who operated as special commissioners abroad. The governor had contracted with George Nicholas Sanders to sell North Carolina naval script and to purchase war supplies.³⁰ Sanders had recently returned from a mission to Europe where he served on behalf of the Confederate government.³¹ While at Halifax, Nova Scotia during his return trip, Sanders learned of the foreign interest in naval stores as a source of credit for purchases. Upon his return he met with one of his former acquaintances, Duncan K. McRae, and informed him of his findings in Nova Scotia. He asked McRae, then serving as an inspector of goods for the State of North Carolina, to pass this information along to Governor Vance. Upon being notified of Sanders' findings, Vance arranged to meet him. During the meeting, Sanders detailed his proposal to Vance, and the governor promptly signed an agreement which called for Sanders to travel abroad in order to purchase boots, shoes, ammunition, and clothing at fixed prices.³²

The man who set this mission in motion, Duncan K. McRae, had been born in Fayetteville and eventually became an accomplished lawyer with a keen interest in political matters. He served as a consul at Paris during the 1850s and ran as an independent candidate for governor in the 1858 North Carolina gubernatorial election. McRae had supported secession in the early months of 1861 and was rewarded for his

³⁰ Naval script, similar to cotton bonds, were bonds or warrants on a specified amount of naval stores such as pine tar, rosin, and turpentine.

³¹ Sanders returned from Europe in October 1862. *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 420, fn415.

³² *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 420-421, fn415.

sympathies with the colonelcy of the 5th North Carolina Regiment. He served in that post until November 1862 when he was forced to resign his commission due to health problems.³³ McRae's health had always plagued him. He was often ill while serving as consul in Paris, and poor health continually caused problems for him throughout his military career. From the descriptions of his ailments in family letters it sounds as though he may have suffered from tuberculosis.³⁴

Following his discharge from the army, Governor Vance arranged for McRae to travel with George Sanders and inspect the goods Sanders purchased before they were transported to Wilmington. Besides acting as an inspector for the goods purchased by Sanders, McRae was also instructed to supervise the terms upon which the purchases were to be made.³⁵ With these instructions in place, the team was ready to carry out their task. Although Governor Vance had intended for the duo to conduct their business in Nova Scotia, McRae and Sanders immediately set out for Britain where they arrived in early 1863. Upon their arrival, the two men entered into a bitter controversy over the mission to Europe. From all indications the controversy began as a dispute over the sale of the naval script which eventually resulted in Sanders's contract being terminated.³⁶

The search for a willing buyer of these bonds did not prove to be as easy as Governor Vance had hoped. Vance became seriously concerned when he had not

³³ Ibid., I, 163, fn2.

³⁴ Ibid., 171, fn36.

³⁵ Ibid., 420-421, fn413, fn415.

³⁶ Ibid., 420, fn413.

received any word from White or McRae who were in Britain by March 1863. On March 4, 1863, Vance entered into an agreement with Francis Lawley, an English correspondent covering the war for the *Times* of London. If Lawley could succeed in securing a loan on behalf of the state for £200,000 pounds in England, payable in cotton three months after the conclusion of peace, Lawley would receive fifteen percent, of such amount for securing the loan. On March 11, Vance wrote to the Confederate diplomat and special commissioner in England, James M. Mason, notifying him of his agreement with Lawley. From the letter it appears that Lawley had recommended to Vance that the State grant power of attorney to Mason which would allow him to act on behalf of North Carolina by agreeing to the terms in the event Lawley was able to secure a loan. If this could be accomplished Lawley believed he could secure a loan for the State totaling one million dollars. Vance notified Mason that Lawley planned to use some political and family influence in England in order to obtain such a loan. He informed Mason that he had decided to try Lawley's plan and asked him to represent the State in any manner which Lawley might deem necessary and enclosed a power of attorney which authorized Mason to act on behalf of the State. Vance also included letters addressed to White and McRae concerning the current happenings.³⁷

Vance informed White and McRae of this plan to secure a loan through Lawley and instructed them to suspend their activities and consult with Mason regarding the efforts by Lawley. Vance also directed White to purchase some cotton cards as well as

³⁷ *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 78 fn1; Zebulon B. Vance to James M. Mason, March 11, 1863, II, 84-85.

machines suitable for making the cotton and wool cards if he possessed the sufficient funds to do so. In the letter to McRae, Vance made changes as to the types of goods he was to purchase. McRae's original instructions were to purchase 10,000 small arms, most likely rifled muskets, but Vance reduced that number to 2,500 and advised McRae to invest any additional funds in the purchase of shoes, blankets, gray cloth, and cotton and wool cards. He also indicated to McRae that he would prefer him to negotiate the terms and sale of the naval script instead of Sanders. Vance concluded that he never intended for Sanders "hawk our paper about through Europe." He closed the letter by requesting that McRae and White act together in their purchases and the shipment of the goods they had successfully procured.³⁸ Soon after receiving the letter from Vance, McRae, acting with the authority as an agent of the State, nullified the contract between the State of North Carolina and George Sanders. Sanders later charged McRae with embezzlement and fraudulently selling naval script.³⁹

This episode clearly shows how helpless Vance was pertaining to the business of the State being carried out in England. He obviously had his suspicions about Sanders in the first place, or he would not have sent McRae along to "inspect" the contract terms he agreed to and the goods he purchased. It is interesting that John White was allowed to act virtually as the lone agent in his purchasing activities, but that Vance did not trust Sanders to do so. Why McRae and Sanders had a falling out is unclear. All that is evident

³⁸ Ibid., 84-86.

³⁹ *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 420 fn413. These charges by Sanders and the controversy that surrounded their business dealings in Europe would plague McRae for the rest of his life. *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 164 fn2.

from the incident is that the disagreement took place almost from the time that they arrived in England and that Sanders left England for the European continent shortly after the duo arrived in England. McRae remained in England to carry out the business for which they had been dispatched, and he essentially fired Sanders in nullifying the contract between Sanders and Vance. This obviously exhibits how challenging it was for Vance to attend to the affairs of a State at war as well as expeditions overseas to assist the State in its war effort.

Unfortunately for Governor Vance this disagreement between McRae and Sanders was not his only problem in Britain. The plan to secure a loan through Francis Lawley was not successful. It was not until May 1863 that White was able to find a purchaser for his cotton bonds. White stated that the delay was caused by a request made to him by James M. Mason. According to White, Mason requested that he delay placing his bonds on the market so that White's bonds would not interfere with the sale of Confederate cotton bonds that were currently on the market. White noted that he chose to honor the request by Mason because he "considered it proper in itself and believed it would be in accordance with your (Governor Vance) wishes to comply..." White finally placed his bonds on the market May 1, 1863 and began collecting funds immediately to finance his operations.⁴⁰

While it is possible that Vance could have anticipated such a conflict arising in England over the sale of Confederate and State cotton bonds, it is much more likely that this was a simple oversight. It was better for both parties for the bonds to not be

⁴⁰ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, V, 453-454.

competing on the market, but the decision by White to honor Mason's request set the mission back several months. This set back was costly for the state because it delayed the progress of the operation and the arrival of much needed goods. However, White felt that he was doing what Vance would have him to do and what was best for the state by honoring Mason's request.

To assist him in the sale of the cotton bonds, Commissioner White decided to secure the services of a British firm to assist him. He initially approached de Erlanger & Company, who had negotiated a cotton loan with the Confederate authorities, to assist him, but he was unable to agree to terms with the firm. White believed that de Erlanger & Company required a higher rate of commission than what he felt was necessary. Therefore he obtained the services of Alexander Collie and Company to negotiate the sale of the bonds at a commission rate of five percent. It was agreed between the parties that White would be responsible for any solicitor's fees and bank commissions.⁴¹

The terms of the bonds issued by White stated that in return for payment of one hundred pounds that the State of North Carolina would deliver to the buyer twelve bales of cotton. Each bale of cotton was guaranteed to weigh four hundred pounds and to be ginned, packed, and in merchantable condition. The bales were promised to be delivered to the port of Wilmington, Charleston, or Savannah, or if possible to any other port in possession of the Confederate States of American except those ports located in the State of Texas. The bonds carried an annual rate of seven percent interest which was payable

⁴¹ Ibid., 454-455.

half yearly with an origination date of July 1863. White also noted additional provisions that pertained to the quality of the cotton, the notice, and various other particulars.⁴²

Commissioner White detailed the sale of these bonds in a personal account of his activities. He stated that on or about May 1, 1863 he sold at London and Manchester 999 cotton bonds at £100 each which totaled £99,900 pounds. Of the 1,500 cotton bonds issued to White, he sold the 999 mentioned above which were numbered 1-999. The bonds numbered 1000-1395 were deposited with Alexander Collie and Company in the Manchester and County Bank of Manchester, England. The bond numbered 1396 was returned to White by the State as a sample, and the bonds numbered 1397-1500 were deposited with Isaacs & Samuel, of London, as a security for a three way contract between Commissioner White, Isaacs & Samuel, and Collie and Company.⁴³

Now that White's cotton bonds were on the market, he was able to negotiate a loan that allowed him to begin his operations. He used the same firm, Alexander Collie and Company, to negotiate the loan that he had used to negotiate the sale of his cotton bonds on the British market. The loan negotiated between the two parties hinged upon the sale of cotton at 5 pence Sterling per pound and the loan amounted to £100,000 pounds.⁴⁴ In addition to this amount, White requested that Vance send him an additional one million dollars which would allow him to deposit \$1.5 million in a British bank. He

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 454.

⁴⁴ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 72; John White to Zebulon B. Vance, May 20, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 161.

informed Vance that without such collateral he would not be able to continue borrowing funds to make further purchases.⁴⁵ Vance complied but advised White to deposit the bonds only as he needed them and to only purchase goods Vance had specified.⁴⁶

This event shows how committed Vance was to this mission abroad. It also demonstrates the trust he placed in White and Vance's leadership role. As is evident from previous setbacks in the mission, Vance had very little control over his agent's actions. He could tell the agents what to do, but it was up to the individual actually to do it. Therefore it was imperative that Vance select people whom he could trust to administer the State's business in England. The advance to White of one million dollars in addition to the monies he already had access to shows us two things about Vance. One, he trusted White much more than he did McRae or Sanders. Second, Vance was attempting to avoid any other delays in the progress of this mission. He realized the needs of the State and that regular shipments from England needed to begin as soon as possible. It is very likely that Vance advised White to only deposit bonds as he needed them because he was unsure how long or how successful these operations abroad would be. By depositing only the bonds he needed, White could be recalled to North Carolina at any time without leaving much unfinished business. This gave Vance more leeway as to how he would conduct the mission and how involved he wanted North Carolina to be in blockade running.

⁴⁵ John White to Zebulon B. Vance, May 20, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 161.

⁴⁶ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, July 10, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 210.

The firm through which Commissioner White conducted most of his business, Alexander Collie and Company, acted as an agent for White in the purchase and shipment of goods and in the sale of cotton bonds.⁴⁷ The *Richmond Examiner* described Alexander Collie as an export merchant who operated from an office in London, Manchester, and Liverpool. On a more personal note, the *Examiner* described Collie as a “pawky Scotsman.”⁴⁸ Alexander Collie and Company entered into business with the Confederate government as well as the State of North Carolina. A post-war lawsuit against the firm specifies that it engaged in “fitting out, lading, and sending steamships to run the blockade of the ports in the States which were then in rebellion against the United States.” The suit states further that these blockade runners operated by Collie and Company transported general merchandise, munitions, arms, gunpowder, armored-plates for war vessels, army clothing, cannon, shot, ammunition, and quartermaster and medical stores.⁴⁹ Commissioner White advised Governor Vance that “an agency of this kind (Collie and Company) is necessary to the transaction of such business according to the uniform custom in England, and especially so in reference to officers, agents, and citizens

⁴⁷ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, V, 458.

⁴⁸ Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 166.

⁴⁹ *Find Law for Legal Professionals*, 2005, <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=97&invol=3>. (2 March 2005).

of the Confederate States.”⁵⁰ Collie and Company would have a hand in the purchase or shipment of nearly all the merchandise obtained by the State’s agents in Britain.⁵¹

Having arranged for the necessary finances to allow him to conduct business, White immediately put the funds toward the purchase of clothing and a steamer.⁵² To assist White in the purchase of a steamer, Governor Vance sent along experienced seaman, Colonel Thomas N. Crossan.⁵³ Like White, Crossan was from Warrenton, North Carolina. He had been born in the North, but had moved to Warrenton after marrying Rebecca Brehan. Prior to the war, he had served in the United States Navy and had joined the Confederate Navy when hostilities broke out in 1861. In the fall of 1861 he was commissioned as a lieutenant and was placed in command of the CSS *Winslow*. During the Battle of New Bern, a battle in which Vance had also participated, Crossan was in command of the batteries along the river.⁵⁴ His relationship to the State and his maritime career made Crossan a perfect choice for this operation.

Relying on his prior naval service and maritime experience, Crossan was charged with negotiating the purchase of a steamer. He made arrangements for the State to purchase a 230 foot-long, side-wheeled steamer named the *Lord Clyde*. The vessel had

⁵⁰ Clark, V, 458.

⁵¹ Dawson Carr, *Gray Phantoms of the Cape Fear: Running the Civil War Blockade* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1998), 176.

⁵² Yates, 72.

⁵³ Clark, I, 30.

⁵⁴ *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 360 fn201.

been built by Laird and Company of Greenock, Scotland in 1862.⁵⁵ She was fitted with powerful engines that gave her a cruising speed of 17 knots.⁵⁶ The vessel had originally been intended to function as a ferry between Dublin and Glasgow, but her purchase by the State of North Carolina for blockade running led to a much more adventurous existence.⁵⁷ Crossan agreed to purchase the *Lord Clyde* for £35,000 pounds, a sum equaling \$175,000 at the time.⁵⁸

Shortly after purchasing the *Lord Clyde*, the ship was renamed the *Ad-Vance*.⁵⁹ There are two possibilities to account for the ship being given this name. One possibility was the obvious tribute to the governor while another indicates that it was a reference to the ship as an advance or pioneer ship.⁶⁰ Regardless of the reason, she was quickly outfitted for trans-Atlantic passage and put to work delivering cotton and/or supplies. The *Ad-Vance* was loaded down with an assortment of supplies purchased by White with the

⁵⁵ Stephen R. Wise, *Lifeline of the Confederacy: Blockade Running During the Civil War* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 286.

⁵⁶ Clark, V, 361. The engine pressure per square inch was later increased to thirty pounds per square inch which made the vessel capable of turning 20 knots.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 335.

⁵⁸ Wise, 106.

⁵⁹ The *Ad-Vance* is often referred to as the *A.D. Vance* or the *Advance* in historical accounts. The vessel will be referred to as the *Ad-Vance* throughout this study which is the spelling used by Governor Vance in his written references to the vessel.

⁶⁰ Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, V, 335. Walter Clark mentions on pg. 335 in vol. 5 of his five volume series that the steamer *Ad-Vance* was named in tribute to Mrs. Vance whose name was Adelaide. I have not been able to confirm a Mrs. Vance by the name of Adelaide, therefore I omitted the reference from the body of the paper.

remaining funds.⁶¹ White informed Vance that Crossan planned to set sail with a cargo of 100 to 120 tons of assorted merchandise. He also noted that after this shipment he would be left with roughly 150 tons of additional merchandise he had purchased.⁶² The *Ad-Vance* sailed from Cardiff for Wilmington on May 30, 1863, where she arrived on June 26, 1863.⁶³

Upon the first arrival of the *Ad-Vance* at Wilmington, Vance traveled from Raleigh to see first hand the State's blockade runner. In order to get a glimpse of the vessel before she sailed into the crowd awaiting her arrival, Governor Vance and a number of his friends traveled to the quarantine station, which was located roughly fifteen to sixteen miles below the city. After the *Ad-Vance* was found to be free of disease, the Governor's party boarded the ship and spent several hours onboard the vessel examining the ship and becoming acquainted with her officers. Soon thereafter, the *Ad-Vance* was granted a waiver of the typical fifteen-day waiting period at the quarantine station and was allowed to sail for Wilmington. It was largely assumed by the quarantine officials that the governor's presence onboard the vessel would permit this decision and sanction the waiver of the typical waiting period.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 72.

⁶² John White to Zebulon B. Vance, May 20, 1861, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 161.

⁶³ Yates, 72.

⁶⁴ Clark, V, 359-360; Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 172.

The *Ad-Vance* sailed into the Customs House at Wilmington to the victorious cheers of those who had assembled to welcome the State's own blockade runner. Vance's plan to emerge from the ship and address the crowd was stymied by the commands of a Confederate officer, Lt. Colonel Charles E. Thornburg. Being more concerned about properly carrying out the responsibilities of his job than the urgency of the blockade running efforts to the State of North Carolina, Thornburg refused to allow the ship to dock at the wharf and ordered the vessel to return to the quarantine station. He also demanded that no one on board should be allowed to leave the ship for a period of fifteen days. Although he was informed that the vessel belonged to the State and that Governor Vance was on board, Thornburg refused to reconsider his orders. Vance happened to overhear the demands of Lt. Colonel Thornburg and proceeded to ask "Do you say, sir, that the Governor of the State shall not leave the deck of his own ship?" Thornburg is said to have replied that he "did not care (if it was) Gov. Vance nor Gov. Jesus Christ" that no one "should come off that boat for fifteen days." Thornburg then placed a guard on the wharf with specific orders to shoot anyone who attempted to leave the vessel. Governor Vance was infuriated, and it required the interposition and persuasion of his friends on board to convince him to return to the cabin of the vessel.⁶⁵

Those in the crowd who realized the magnitude of the situation about to erupt at the wharf, sent for the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation, W.P. Fanning. The Chairman arrived on the scene shortly after the altercation between Vance

⁶⁵ Ibid.; William H. C. Whiting to Zebulon B. Vance, July 1, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 202.; Zebulon B. Vance to Jefferson Davis, July 6, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 207.

and Thornburg. Fanning promptly settled the dispute and allowed the *Ad-Vance* to remain at the wharf. He also allowed all passengers aboard the vessel who desired to do so to come ashore. Governor Vance was the first person to disembark. The governor stopped long enough to salute Mr. Fanning and exclaimed in a booming voice for all to hear “No man is more prompt to obey the civil authority than myself, but I will not be ridden over by epaulettes or bayonets.” To this remark the crowd rallied and gave three cheers for Governor Vance which was followed by three cheers for the *Ad-Vance*.⁶⁶

Upon his return to Raleigh, Governor Vance penned a letter of complaint to General Whiting and President Davis. The letters detailed the incident that had occurred and called for Thornburg’s dismissal from his current post and his removal from the State. Vance wrote that Lt. Colonel Thornburg “deliberately, willfully, and without excuse inflicted a gross insult upon the people of North Carolina through her Chief Magistrate, in their name I demand his (Thornburg) removal from the State, and that he be no more placed in command of her troops.” He went on to write “if it be deemed indispensable that North Carolina soldiers should be commanded by Virginians, I should regret to see the old Dominion retain all her gentlemen for her own use, and furnish us only her blackguards.”⁶⁷

This last statement was in direct reference to the ongoing dispute over what many North Carolinians viewed as a disproportionate number of Virginians being

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Zebulon B. Vance to Jefferson Davis, July 6, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 207.

commissioned in the Confederate Army. This belief undoubtedly made the confrontation between Vance and Thornburg more personal than it was intended to be. Had Thornburg been a Confederate official from North Carolina, there may have been a dispute at the wharf, but it is very likely that Vance would have dropped the issue after that or asked simply for an apology. Thornburg being a Virginian, however, stationed at Wilmington and talking down to the Governor of North Carolina created a volatile situation for Vance.

In an effort by the Confederate authorities to placate the Governor's requests and promote more North Carolinians, General William H. C. Whiting who served as the commander of the military district of Wilmington, wrote Vance on July 1, 1863 informing him that Thornburg had been relieved of his command and that Major Thomas Sparrow of the 10th North Carolina Regiment had been assigned to the position. Although Thornburg was relieved of his duty, it was not as a result of his orders, but because of his disrespectful language. Whiting wrote that Thornburg had been "obeying orders which were to carry out strictly the ordinances of the Wilmington Commissioners of Navigation," a civil board charged with the quarantine operations.⁶⁸ It is very likely that Thornburg felt it necessary to follow such orders strictly since the city of Wilmington had suffered from a yellow fever epidemic just a year earlier. Nevertheless it was his

⁶⁸ *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 25 fn3; William H. C. Whiting to Zebulon B. Vance, July 1, 1863, II, 202-203.

disrespectful language toward Governor Vance that led to his being relieved of his duties, not his attempts to obey orders.⁶⁹

The *Ad-Vance* made four successful round trips between Wilmington and Bermuda in her first six months of service.⁷⁰ During the first voyages of the *Ad-Vance* the ship transported mainly shoes, fabric that would be used to manufacture uniforms, and cotton cards.⁷¹ The port of Wilmington was ideally situated for running the blockade. It lay 570 miles from Nassau and 647 miles from Bermuda.⁷² After her first voyage across the Atlantic, the *Ad-Vance* ran the Wilmington-Bermuda route exclusively. John White had contracted with Alexander Collie and Company to transport the goods he purchased in Britain to Bermuda. Collie's chartered vessels would unload their cargo in Bermuda and transport cotton back to Britain. Meanwhile, the *Ad-Vance* would unload her cargo of cotton in Bermuda and transport supplies for North Carolina troops back to Wilmington. This shipping scheme allowed White to purchase supplies in Britain on credit until cotton from Bermuda was delivered to him in Britain which he in turn sold to pay off the State's debts.⁷³

⁶⁹ Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 175.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 172.

⁷¹ Ibid., 176. Cotton cards were hand-held, flattened brushes with short wire bristles. The cards were used to roll cotton and wool fibers into strands for spinning into yarn. Cotton cards were not available in North Carolina because the state did not have the proper means to produce them.

⁷² Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 245.

⁷³ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 72-73.

In the course of discharging his duties, John White entered into several contracts with clothing manufacturers and suppliers of various other goods. White had exhausted the entire £100,000 pound loan from Alexander Collie and Company by July 1863 and had expended a total of \$2.5 million. By September 1863 he had purchased an additional £115,463 pounds worth of merchandise from Collie and Company.⁷⁴

In the fall of 1863, Governor Vance planned to end the State's blockade running activities. In September of that year he ordered the *Ad-Vance* to transport one final cargo from Bermuda. Following this last run, Vance intended to sell the vessel and cut back his agents' activities abroad. While John White was purchasing hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of additional supplies from Collie and Company in September, Vance wrote and directed him to stop all purchasing activity. He had grown alarmed at how increasingly dangerous it had become to successfully run the Federal blockade.⁷⁵ He feared that if Charleston fell to the Federals, it would have a devastating impact on blockade running. He also informed White that the amount of goods on hand, those waiting to be transported from Bermuda, and the supplies being produced within North Carolina would be sufficient to keep the state's troops clothed for at least a year. He also indicated to Commissioner White that he was anxious for McRae to return home. Vance

⁷⁴ Ibid., Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 146.

⁷⁵ Governor Vance did instruct White to purchase cotton and wool cards. He recommended that White attempt to purchase the cards through agents in New York since the cards available there were of better quality as well as being cheaper than those available in England. Zebulon B. Vance to John White, Sept. 3, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 258-259.

instructed White to take charge of any business that would detain McRae in Britain so that he may return to the State as soon as possible.⁷⁶

It had actually never been the Governor's intention that McRae and Sanders travel to Europe in the first place. Vance stated so much so in a letter to White written in July 1863. Vance wrote "I did not intend for him (McRae) to go to Europe to compete with you...my idea was to procure his supplies in Halifax, as people would certainly be struck with the folly of sending two agents to the same market, in part for the same object." He later wrote to McRae stating that when he agreed to the contract with Sanders, it was his understanding that the negotiation of naval script and the purchase of goods would be carried out in Halifax.⁷⁷ Why the duo went to Europe is unclear. Vance speculated that Sanders may have been tempted by the profits of a larger contract which would have been easier to obtain in Europe than in Nova Scotia.⁷⁸ Vance would have logically thought that Sanders would go to Nova Scotia to attempt to sale these naval scripts. It was in Nova Scotia that Sanders became aware investors' interest in purchasing them. However, Sanders may have thought the same sentiment would be present in Europe so he would try his luck there. He did have contacts established in Europe from a previous business trip there on behalf of the Confederate government. It very well could be that he planned to sale the script to these contacts or use the contacts to assist him in selling the

⁷⁶ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, Sept. 3, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 258-259.

⁷⁷ Zebulon B. Vance to Duncan K. McRae, Oct. 3, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 292.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

script. This decision to go to England instead of Nova Scotia could be what led to the dispute between McRae and Sanders. They seemed to have been at odds from the time they arrived in England and it is very possible that the dispute originated over this decision. Since neither gentleman indicated to Vance the source of the disagreement we will never know, but this is a possibility.

In a letter dated September 4, 1863, John White notified Governor Vance that McRae had finished his business in Britain and had left for home. White also informed Vance that his letter had reached him too late for White to have McRae cease all of his script negotiation and purchasing activities. According to the letter, McRae had succeeded in his negotiations of the naval bonds and had placed an order for the goods Vance had instructed him to purchase.⁷⁹

Besides the additional goods purchased by McRae that would need to be transported, White's additional purchases were scheduled for shipment in November 1863. He notified Vance that he was planning to return to North Carolina since his business in Britain was almost complete. He wrote to the governor explaining that what little business he would leave unfinished would be handled by Collie and Company. He also informed Vance that he would be bringing with him proposals on behalf of the

⁷⁹ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, July 10, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 210; John White to Zebulon B. Vance, Sept. 4, 1863, II, 263.

company requesting that the State join them in the purchase of additional steamers. White left London on November 20, 1863 headed home.⁸⁰

The proposal White brought with him called for a tentative partnership between North Carolina and Collie and Company. Alexander Collie, himself, contacted Governor Vance and detailed his plans for the partnership. Collie notified the governor that according to the partnership, four steamers would be purchased, with North Carolina having one-fourth interest while Collie and his associates would share the remaining interests. The cargo space of the vessels, Collie explained, would be divided among the owners according to their percentage of ownership. After being notified of this arrangement, Governor Vance abandoned his plan to end North Carolina's blockade running activities.⁸¹

The contract entered into between the State and Alexander Collie and Company called for North Carolina to pay its share of the preparation and outfitting of each steamer in cotton bonds. The State was responsible for one-fourth of all expenses incurred while the remaining three-fourths would be paid by the other respective owners. It was also agreed that any profits the ships may turn or should one be sold, the proceeds would be split four equal ways between the owners. The State agreed to pay £20,000 pounds

⁸⁰ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 73-74; Zebulon B. Vance to John White, Sept. 3, 1863, *Papers of ZBV*, II, 258-259; John White to Zebulon B. Vance, Oct. 31, 1863, II, 313.

⁸¹ Yates, 73-74.

sterling apiece for the *Don* and the *Hansa*, but the price of the remaining two ships in the contract was not specified.⁸²

The purpose behind this endeavor was to reduce the State's shipping costs and establish an improved arrangement for the importing of goods and exporting of cotton than could be attained while operating only one blockade runner. This strategy also reduced the risk of capture by Federal blockaders. It divided the interests of the State over four steamers instead of just one.⁸³ In the event a ship was captured, the State stood to lose much less than if the *Ad-Vance* was captured. While the State was running just the *Ad-Vance*, in the event of her capture the State's blockade running operation would be brought to a halt. Now that the Federal Navy was tightening the blockade around Wilmington, Vance needed to diversify the State's blockade running operation or he stood to lose all that the State had invested in the operation. The purchasing activities of White and McRae in England had also amounted to a much larger stockpile of goods that needed to be imported to Wilmington than what the governor had originally envisioned. Therefore, this opportunity offered an alternative to his current mode of operation and provided a much safer and secure way of guaranteeing that the goods purchased in England would make their way to North Carolina for use by the State's troops and citizens. So instead of ending the State's blockade running operations as he had initially

⁸² *Find Law for Legal Professionals*, 2005, <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=97&invol=3>. (2 March 2005).

⁸³ *Ibid.*

intended, the governor expanded the operation and intensified the State's involvement in the practice.

Before he left Britain, John White agreed in principle to this proposal, but stated that the Governor's consent would be required to finalize the contract. Vance wrote Collie on December 28, 1863 informing him that he was willing to accept the proposal with a few minor alterations. He informed Collie that the agreement had been signed by his agent in Wilmington, Theodore Andreae. He encouraged Collie to waste no more time in completing the steamers still under construction.⁸⁴ With the finalization of this contract, the Governor was in a more suitable situation to transport the massive quantities of supplies acquired by White and McRae from Britain to Wilmington. Another step taken by the Governor to diversify his blockade running operations was the sale of one-half interest in the *Ad-Vance*. The State retained one-half interest in the steamer and sold the remaining interest to Power, Lowe, and Company of Wilmington for \$350,000.⁸⁵ This was a handsome profit considering that the state only paid \$175,000 for the ship less than a year earlier. The terms of the agreement called for the cargo space of the *Ad-Vance* to be shared equally between the owners on both outward and inward voyages. The agreement also allowed the State access to the entire cargo space in the event that Power,

⁸⁴ John White to Zebulon B. Vance, Oct. 31, 1863, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, II, 313; Zebulon B. Vance to Alexander Collie, Dec. 28, 1863, II, 353-354.

⁸⁵ Yates, 74.

Lowe, and Company did not have freight at Bermuda to be shipped back to Wilmington.⁸⁶

This partnership, much like the partnership between the State and Collie and Company, benefited both parties. Much less risk would be involved in running the blockade for North Carolina now that it was only a part owner in the *Ad-Vance*. In the event the ship was captured, the State would not suffer the total loss of ship and cargo as it would have before. Since the State had sold one-half interest in the *Ad-Vance* for a handsome profit over what they paid for the whole ship, that made the partnership even more advantageous. It reduced risk for the State while keeping the ship in the State's fleet. The one-fourth interest in the other ships in the contract with Collie and Company is what made this partnership feasible. With the interest in the other ships, the whole of the *Ad-Vance* was not necessarily needed, therefore the State was able to sell one-half interest and still retain its importing capacity while reducing risk.

The State now had a small fleet of five ships made up of the four agreed upon in the partnership with Collie and Company and its one-half interest in the *Ad-Vance*. The ships in which the State owned one-fourth interest included the *Don*, *Hansa*, *Annie*, and a fourth that was still in production.⁸⁷ The *Don* was a 162 foot-long steamer said to be capable of fourteen knots.⁸⁸ She had been built by renowned shipbuilders John and

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ No information exists concerning this fourth ship that was mentioned in the contract between the State of North Carolina and Collie and Company.

⁸⁸ Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 163.

William Dudgeon of London in 1863. These same shipbuilders had built the 170 foot-long *Annie* in 1863 as well. The *Hansa* had been built in Glasgow, by F. Muir in 1858 for Alexander Collie and Company. It was the oldest ship of the fleet, but would be the only one to survive the war without being captured.⁸⁹ North Carolina's share of the cargo space aboard the *Don*, *Annie*, and *Hansa* amounted to roughly 100 gross tons on each ship, while on the *Ad-Vance*, North Carolina's share was roughly 400 gross tons.⁹⁰ This gave the State a total of 700 gross tons of cargo space in its small fleet of blockade runners, not to mention the additional 400 gross tons available for the State's use on the *Ad-Vance* in the event Power, Lowe, and Company did not have freight at Bermuda to be shipped back to Wilmington.

The combined efforts of this small fleet of blockade runners transported an enormous amount of goods and supplies into North Carolina as well as large quantities of cotton to Britain. Between June 1863 and August 1864, North Carolina exported more than four thousand bales of cotton to Europe. Between June 1863 and the fall of Ft. Fisher in January 1865 the following goods are estimated to have been imported into Wilmington: 250,000 pairs of shoes, 50,000 blankets, wool cloth for at least 250,000 suits of uniforms (jackets and trousers), 12,000 ready-made overcoats, and 2,000 Enfield rifles with 100 rounds of ammunition each, 100,000 pounds of bacon, 500 sacks of coffee, medicines valued at \$50,000 in gold, 60,000 pairs of hand cards, 10,000 grain scythes,

⁸⁹ Wise, *Lifeline*, 286, 288, 296, 303.

⁹⁰ Carr, 178.

200 barrels of bluestone wheat for farmers, and large quantities of machinery, lubricating oils, and other supplies.⁹¹

The Governor's concern over the increasing danger of blockade running in the fall of 1863 was well founded. By 1864, Federal authorities had made the capture of Wilmington a priority. They realized that the capture of Wilmington would have a devastating impact on the Confederacy as a whole. Not only was the North Carolina government successfully running the blockade into and out of Wilmington, but it was the main port for the Confederate government as well. One of the first steps toward capturing Wilmington was a stricter enforcement of the blockade.

These increased efforts of the Federal blockaders severely curtailed North Carolina's blockade running operations by December 1864. The *Don* had been captured by the U.S.S. *Pequot* off Beaufort, NC on March 4, 1864. She had completed five round trips between Wilmington and either Bermuda or Nassau before her capture.⁹²

The *Ad-Vance* met a similar fate later that same year. On Friday, September 9, the *Ad-Vance* sailed out of Wilmington loaded with cotton. She carried 400 bales in the hold and 300 more bales on her decks. In addition to the 700 bales of cotton, barrels of turpentine had been placed in every available space. When it was discovered that this enormous load was causing the ship to draw more than her allowable eleven feet of water, the *Ad-Vance* was anchored near Smithville and the situation was assessed by Captain Joannes Wyllie. The Captain ordered that the cotton above decks to be removed.

⁹¹ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 83-84.

⁹² Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 182.

This task was completed by sunset, and the ship was ready to set sail. Federal blockaders operating in the vicinity, however, forced the Captain to delay his departure until midnight. Shortly after the *Ad-Vance* finally emerged from the inlet, she was detected by Commander Samuel Huse of the USS *Britannia*. Huse was able to detect the *Ad-Vance* because of the smoke trail emitted by the inferior coal which the ship was forced to set sail with. The Confederate blockade runners navigating in and out of Wilmington had been given priority access to the high-grade coal which left only the lowest-grade coal for the *Ad-Vance* to use. Vance reported that the Confederate cruiser CSS *Tallahassee*⁹³ had seized for herself the last of the high-quality foreign coal which compelled the *Ad-Vance* to set to sail with soft domestic coal. The domestic coal, Vance explained, was unsuitable for the *Ad-Vance*'s furnaces. It rendered the vessel capable of only making half her normal speed and left behind a dense column of black smoke.⁹⁴

Upon detecting the *Ad-Vance*, Commander Huse and the USS *Britannia* took up the chase. The Federal gunboat fired rockets to warn other blockaders of the *Ad-Vance*'s presence. The inferior coal allowed the *Ad-Vance* to turn only eight knots, but the blockade runner was still too fast for the USS *Britannia*. After trailing the *Ad-Vance* for roughly an hour, the USS *Britannia* gave up the chase. By morning the *Ad-Vance* was in the vicinity of Cape Lookout preparing to turn east toward Bermuda. In the same vicinity was the USS *Santiago de Cuba* which was traveling to Hampton Roads to replenish her

⁹³ The vessel is referred to in some accounts as the *Tennessee*. Clark, *Histories of Several Regiments*, I, 54.

⁹⁴ Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 178-179; *Legislative Documents, Session 1864-1865*, Doc. 1, 3.

supply of coal. Around 11 a.m. on September 10th, the men aboard the USS *Santiago de Cuba* spotted black smoke on the horizon. The ship's Captain, O.S. Gilsson, ordered the USS *Santiago de Cuba* to proceed in the direction of the smoke. Within two hours, the Federal vessel was close enough to the source of the smoke to see that it was emanating from a large side-wheeled steamer with two smoke stacks and schooner rigging. They immediately suspected that the ship they were chasing was a blockade runner.⁹⁵

With this suspicion in their minds, Captain Gilsson ordered his crew to relocate all the heavy cannon and all crewmen who could be spared to the stern of the ship. This was done in an effort to increase the ship's speed. By 4 p.m., lookouts aboard the USS *Santiago de Cuba* could make out the *Ad-Vance*'s hull. By sundown the USS *Santiago de Cuba* was tailing the *Ad-Vance* by roughly four miles and was almost within gun-range. Realizing his predicament and knowing that the guns of the Federal blockader were capable of totally destroying the *Ad-Vance*, Captain Wyllie ordered the engines of the vessel halted. There he surrendered his ship and crew to the Federals.⁹⁶

Following the loss of the *Ad-Vance*, a lengthy disagreement ensued between the North Carolina Legislature, the Confederate Congress, and Governor Vance. The Confederate Navy Department denied responsibility for the loss of the *Ad-Vance* while the State Legislature and Governor Vance demanded compensation. This argument

⁹⁵ Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 179.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 179-180.

carried on until the fall of Ft. Fisher permanently ended blockade running for both parties.⁹⁷

A mere two months after the loss of the *Ad-Vance*, the *Annie* was captured. While departing Wilmington, the *Annie* grounded on an underwater reef near Ft. Fisher. The vessel was surrounded by Federal blockaders and eventually towed away. The *Annie* had made eight round trips between Wilmington and either Bermuda or Nassau. The *Hansa* was the only ship in the fleet to survive the war without being captured. She made ten round trips between Wilmington and either Bermuda or Nassau, with her last run being in December 1864 just six weeks prior to the fall of Ft. Fisher.⁹⁸

Those ships that were captured were typically put back into service by the U.S. Navy or sold to private interests. Following the capture of the *Don*, she was used by the U.S. Navy until 1868 when she was sold to private interests. She was later sold to foreign interests in 1871. The *Annie* became the USS *Preston* after her capture. The vessel was later sold to private interests on November 30, 1865 when her name was changed to the *Rover*. The *Ad-Vance* was put into service by the U.S. Navy following her capture as well. She was renamed the USS *Frolic* and participated in the final attack on Ft. Fisher. The vessel served the U.S. Navy until October 1, 1877 when she was sold to foreign interests.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 82.

⁹⁸ Carr, *Gray Phantoms*, 182-183.

⁹⁹ Wise, *Lifeline*, 286, 288, 289; Carr, 180.

Vance reported in his address to the State Legislature in late 1864 that much to his regret the blockade operations had largely come to a halt. He pondered where a supply of shoes for the soldiers would come from for the upcoming winter lamenting that the State had an abundant supply of shoes in the Islands, but possessed no way of transporting them to Wilmington. Vance also informed the Legislature that the State had a positive balance of \$126,957.30 from its blockade running operation. This amount included ships, cotton, and items of exchange. The currency account balance was reported as \$4,852,567.50.¹⁰⁰

Shortly after the fall of Ft. Fisher closed the port of Wilmington, Governor Vance officially ended North Carolina's blockade running operations. He wrote John White, sadly noting "Nothing remains but to close up our affairs as completely as possible and wait for a change....our goods on hand, whether in Europe or the Islands, I leave you to dispose of in any way deemed best..."¹⁰¹ By February 1865 he had ordered all accounts settled and put an end to the operation. In later years, Vance would claim that the State had imported enough dry goods to uniform at least 125,000 men. He estimated that the State produced as many as 342,000 complete uniforms. Vance also claimed that North Carolina made a profit of nearly \$2.5 million, but other State officials placed the profit margin at about half of that amount.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Legislative Documents*, Session 1864-1865, Doc.1, 3-6.

¹⁰¹ Yates, *Confederacy and Zeb Vance*, 83.

¹⁰² Wise, *Lifeline*, 225.

Alexander Collie and Company suffered heavy losses when the war ended. The firm lost 16,000 bales of cotton the firm owned when it was seized by Federal troops. Collie and Company tried to recoup some of their losses by selling off their steamers to the British Royal Navy for use against former blockade runners who were said to be engaging in the slave trade. This plan failed, however, as did their efforts to off load the steamers on the Brazilian government. The steamers were eventually sold to private interests for a meager £18,000 pounds each. The firm eventually closed their books with no profit to show for their endeavors.¹⁰³

Following the war Vance would say of the *Ad-Vance* that she had “contributed much to the welfare of the war-harassed state and was regarded in an affectionate personal way by a half million people...”¹⁰⁴ The Governor lamented, while reporting the fate of the *Ad-Vance* to the State Legislature, that she had been a “noble vessel, the pride of the State, and the benefactor of our soldiers and people.”¹⁰⁵ It is no doubt that Vance would say the same for the other ships in the State’s small fleet of blockade runners. John G. Barrett writes in *The Civil War in North Carolina*, that Zeb Vance regarded the “success of the venture of state blockade-running as one of the most important achievements of his administration...”¹⁰⁶ This foreign endeavor devised by General Martin and carried out largely by Governor Vance allowed North Carolinians in the

¹⁰³ Ibid., 224.

¹⁰⁴ Barrett, *Civil War in North Carolina*, 255.

¹⁰⁵ *Legislative Documents*, 1864-1865, Doc. 1. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Barrett, 255.

Confederate Army to progress from being among the worst supplied soldiers to being the envy of the southern army.

Conclusion

The efforts of the North Carolina quartermaster during the Civil War proved to be an overall success. Being charged with supplying the Tarheel soldier with uniform clothing and equipment during the war, the department carried out its task admirably and with distinction. The North Carolina soldier was among the best, if not the best, supplied soldier during the war. To accomplish this feat, the State authorities wisely utilized their domestic sources and sought supplemental supplies abroad.

The hard work of the department was not conducted without controversy, however. Claims of corruption among the State quartermaster employees were brought to the attention of North Carolina and Confederate authorities. More importantly, a power struggle arose between the State and Confederate authorities which began in 1862 and persisted until the wars end. The power struggle that existed was mainly between the dueling quartermasters and over the State's blockade running operations. Despite these distractions, the North Carolina quartermaster's department never lost sight of its main objective and continued the work of securing supplies for its troops.

Allegations of corruption among North Carolina quartermaster agents surfaced early in the war. Allegations were brought in 1861 against Abraham Myers who was employed by the State to contract with various firms in North Carolina to provide the department with camp and garrison supplies. Among the businesses he contracted with was his own firm, A&W Myers. He was accused of substituting cotton canvas cloth he

had received from the state with cheaper, less durable cloth to fulfill his contracts with North Carolina. He supposedly used the cloth provided by the State to manufacture additional tents which were sold at a substantial profit for \$25 each. Myers's brother and business partner, Solomon Myers, admitted to substituting the cloth when questioned by the State Adjutant General, but insisted that no harm was done to the interests of the State. In turn, the Myers brothers were found not guilty of any wrongdoing. Less than a year later, Abraham Myers was charged with embezzling money, but again was able to dodge any charges of misconduct.¹

Later in the war, W.W. Peirce, an assistant quartermaster who operated for both the State and Confederate authorities, was charged with neglect of duty and misconduct. When an investigation was conducted of these allegations, Peirce proved to be uncooperative. The investigation was able to uncover that Peirce held contracts with 106 different firms, yet no copies of his contracts were kept in his office. Various other discrepancies were found in Peirce's operation and the investigator recommended that he be relieved of his duties, but no action on this matter was ever taken.²

A further and substantially more intensive controversy developed between the North Carolina and Confederate authorities over the operations of their quartermaster departments. The source of this disagreement began when the Confederacy repealed the commutation system on October 8, 1862. The repeal of commutation meant that the

¹ Harold S. Wilson, *Confederate Industry: Manufacturers and Quartermasters in the Civil War* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2002), 74-75.

² *Ibid.*, 75.

Confederate quartermaster was henceforth responsible for furnishing clothing to all Confederate troops. Before the commutation system was repealed, Confederate Quartermaster General, Abraham C. Myers, had grown to dislike the agreement with North Carolina. In June 1862, Myers was already claiming that the State was not sufficiently supplying its troops. He declared to Governor Clark that since the Confederacy was clothing North Carolina troops, it should have access to the State's manufacturing resources.³ In September 1862, he began communicating with North Carolina's newly elected governor, Zebulon B. Vance, asking for the State to relinquish its contracts for clothing to the Confederate government. Myers desired to "systemize and extend" the Confederate quartermaster services and felt that the transfer of the State's contacts and facilities used to fabricate army clothing would be proper and desirable for him to accomplish this task. Vance replied to Myers that this matter would have to be addressed by the State Legislature, but no action to end the agreement with the Confederacy was ever taken.⁴

Myers continued to press the issue with Vance and wrote him again on December 8, 1862. Myers stated that with the repeal of commutation, the existing arrangement

³ The agreement, detailed in previous chapters, called for North Carolina to clothe its own troops for which the state would be reimbursed \$50 per soldier annually. In exchange, the Confederacy agreed to withdraw its purchasing agents from North Carolina which would prevent competition among the agents and keep the prices of manufactured goods down.

⁴ Abraham C. Myers to Zebulon B. Vance, September 17, 1862, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*. Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley. 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. 1, 189-190, fn93; Richard Goff, *Confederate Supply* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969), 71.

between the State and the Confederate government was null and void. He declared that the State would no longer be reimbursed for clothing provided to its soldiers by the Confederate government. Again, Myers requested that Vance turn over all contracts and facilities held by the State for the manufacture of army clothing to the Confederate quartermaster department. He proposed that if his request was honored then arrangements would be made for the manufacture of clothing in North Carolina by the Confederacy and for Major W.W. Peirce to establish a manufacturing depot in Raleigh. Vance continued to refuse to honor Myers' request and insisted that the State retain its control over the supply of its troops.⁵

The conflict between these two parties was never resolved. Alexander Lawton, who succeeded Abraham C. Myers as Confederate Quartermaster General, made repeated attempts to gain control of North Carolina's purchasing contracts and manufacturing facilities, but to no avail. Confederate purchasing agents did contract with North Carolina textile manufacturers for a portion of their output after Lawton became Quartermaster General, however. Lawton did show restraint in dealing with North Carolina textile manufacturers by only contracting for one-third of their production where he typically demanded two-thirds. He charged that Governor Vance had built up large reserves of clothing for his troops which sat in supply depots for up to a year at a time while troops from other states did without due to his selfishness.⁶

⁵ Abraham C. Myers to Zebulon B. Vance, December 8, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 426-427; Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 71.

⁶ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 111-112; Goff, *Confederate Supply*, 148.

Controversy also arose between North Carolina and the Confederacy over the State's blockade running operations. At the height of the North Carolina's success in the operation, the Confederate government intruded. The Confederacy had also conducted blockade running operations from the outset of the war and lacked the fleet necessary to conduct their operations to its maximum potential. Therefore, in the fall of 1863, the Confederacy began to force all owners of blockade running vessels to rent the Confederacy one-third of their total cargo space. Vance immediately took the position that since the fleet of blockade runners operated by the State were transporting supplies for North Carolina that they should be exempted from this measure. He was informed by Confederate Secretary of War James Seddon that this would not be the case, however. Seddon made every effort to convince Vance that the common cause would be better served if he would only adhere to the policy, but Vance refused. He viewed this policy as another obstructive intrusion of the Confederate government into the affairs of North Carolina.⁷

In February 1864, new legislation was approved by President Davis which prohibited the exportation of cotton, tobacco, military and naval stores, sugar, molasses, and rice. Davis issued further regulations that required privately owned vessels to surrender one-half of their cargo space for the transportation of Confederate freight on both outward and inward voyages. On March 5, 1864, this new policy became effective for the ships partly owned by North Carolina. Vance pleaded with Davis for an

⁷ Richard E. Yates, *The Confederacy and Zeb Vance* (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Company, Inc., 1958), 76-77.

exemption, but Davis refused. Vance carried his case to the North Carolina Legislature, Confederate Congress, and to the Confederate Secretary of Treasury but all to no avail. When action finally was taken on the issue, Ft. Fisher had fallen, and North Carolina's blockade running operations had already been officially ended.⁸

Several theories have been put forth in an effort to explain Vance's reasoning for refusing to relinquish control of the State's quartermaster activities to the Confederate government. One of the more popular theories is that Vance was a firm believer in states' rights and felt that it was the right and duty of the State to supply its soldiers.⁹ While this is a creditable and respectable theory, it is important to remember that Vance had been a soldier prior to his election as governor. During his tenure as a soldier, the soldiers were poorly supplied by both North Carolina and the Confederacy. Having experienced this first hand, Vance could very well have been determined to see to it himself that the soldiers of North Carolina were properly supplied on his watch.¹⁰

Another factor that very possibly had a bearing on Vance's reluctance to trust the Confederacy to properly supply his soldiers was a report from M.J. McSween in November 1862.¹¹ In the report McSween stated that North Carolina troops stationed in

⁸ Ibid., 77-81.

⁹ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 109.

¹⁰ Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 110-111.

¹¹ McSween was a controversial lawyer, journalist, and a soldier from Richmond County, North Carolina. Glenn Tucker, *Zeb Vance: Champion of Personal Freedom* (Indianapolis: Bobs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 213.

and around Petersburg and Richmond were in absolute need of many articles such as shoes, blankets, and clothes. The companies were in such bad shape that they averaged roughly thirty effective members out of one hundred. McSween's report revealed that he personally witnessed soldiers marching in the snow without shoes or any form of a substitute for shoes. He estimated that only ten out of one hundred men were properly shod. Very few men had any form of a blanket, and the blankets that did exist were so thin that they were practically useless. The State's soldiers were ragged, dirty, and infested with vermin. North Carolina soldiers that had participated in the battles in Northern Virginia and Maryland were found to be in dire need of all articles of clothing. McSween recommended that blankets, shoes, pants, and coats be supplied as soon as possible. He reported further that attempts to acquire supplies from the Confederate quartermaster for the soldiers had met with no success. McSween ended his report by declaring "it would be to the interest of North Carolina and her soldiers if the state would retain control of her own manufacturers and resources till her own troops are supplied, for I have noticed that other states have furnished less and their troops [are] in greater need than our and thus her [North Carolina's] resources might be exhausted on others while her own sons are suffering."¹²

This report undoubtedly had a bearing on the decisions Vance would make in regard to retaining control over the State's manufacturing and resources. Upon his election it had been one of his immediate goals to devise a method of properly supplying

¹² Tucker, *Personal Freedom* 213; Murdock J. McSween to Zebulon B. Vance, November 17, 1862, *Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*, I, 368-370.

and feeding the North Carolina troops in the field as well as their families at home. He was lauded by the Raleigh newspapers as a friend of the soldier for his desire to properly and efficiently clothe them. Evidently, Vance felt that the best method of doing so was for the State to oversee the supply of its soldiers and not to rely on the Confederate government.¹³

The success of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department was evident from a report by Vance in 1865 that the operations of the quartermaster had not only supplied the army and the State's citizens with indispensable articles, but that it had generated a profit in doing so. Over the course of the war, Vance not only supplied North Carolina troops, but on several occasions he supplied troops from other states. It is evident from a photograph that soldiers from states other than North Carolina were being issued clothing by the State early in the war. This is proven by a soldier identified as a member of the 12th Virginia Regiment photographed wearing a North Carolina issued sack coat sometime in 1861-1862. In the fall of 1863, Vance refitted General Longstreet's men with 14,000 brand new uniforms while they were camped in Eastern Tennessee. In the summer of 1864, Vance turned over to the Confederate quartermaster in Richmond 10,000 uniforms and 2,000 pairs of shoes from the State's supply. Governor Vance's brother, Robert Brank Vance, was given a special assignment to distribute clothing to Confederate prisoners-of-war in Northern prisons which was supplied through North Carolina's reserve stock of clothing. There is also evidence that Governor Vance issued

¹³ Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897), 69; Franklin Ray Shirley, *Zebulon Vance, Tarheel Spokesman* (Charlotte: McNally and Loftin, 1962), 47.

clothing from the State's storehouses to Federal prisoners-of-war in North Carolina in an effort to foster the better treatment of POW's on both sides.¹⁴ Even after these generous donations, North Carolina was left with 92,000 complete sets of uniforms when the war ended.¹⁵ Large numbers of these uniforms were issued to destitute soldiers and civilians and provided some form of comfort during the difficult days that were to follow.¹⁶

Perhaps the most remarkable way to demonstrate the success of the North Carolina Quartermaster's Department is through the actions and words of the soldiers themselves. This fact is clearly demonstrated by the actual reports that were filed within the Confederate War Department emphasizing that North Carolina troops usually fared better than the average Confederate soldier in terms of supply. There were often complaints among troops from states other than North Carolina that Tarheel soldiers were being shown favoritism when it came to issuing supplies when in actuality the North Carolina soldier was more appropriately supplied due to the efforts of the State authorities who endeavored to accomplish this feat. The best testament to the supply and fortitude of the North Carolina soldier, however, was exemplified by the statement overheard by an officer on General Junius Daniel's staff, Wharton J. Green. While relieving a regiment on the battlefield, Green witnessed an old veteran of the brigade being relieved blurt out as he passed by the North Carolinians headed into battle "if only

¹⁴ Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 112,114; McKinney, *War Governor*, 147.

¹⁵ This consists of a uniform jacket and trousers.

¹⁶ Tucker, *Personal Freedom*, 409.

we were as well shod and cared for as them damned Tarheels, we'd know how to stick and die as well as they do."¹⁷

¹⁷ Tucker, *Personal Freedom*, 181; Wilson, *Confederate Industry*, 114.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Contract Terms between John White and the State of North Carolina

November 10, 1862:

Memorandum of an agreement between Zebulon B. Vance, Governor of North Carolina, contracting for and on behalf of the State of the One part and John White of the town of Warrenton in said State of the other part.

The said John White covenants and agrees on his part to visit Europe and to use all skill, energy, and prudence in purchasing for said State such articles as the said Zebulon B. Vance may direct—

The said Zebulon B. Vance covenants and agrees for and on behalf of the State to pay all the necessary expenses of the expedition, to furnish the funds necessary to make such purchases and as a compensation to said White pay him Five Thousand dollars in cash two and a half per cent commission on expenditures amounting Five Hundred Thousand Dollars and one and a half *per cent* Commission on all sums between Five Hundred Thousand and One Million of Dollars.

In witness whereof the parties have hereunto set their hand in duplicate
this the 10th day of November 1862.

[Signed] Z.B. Vance

[Signed] Jno. White¹

¹ Memorandum, November 10, 1862, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*. Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley. 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. 1, 327-328.

Appendix B

John White's Commission

The State of North Carolina to

Mr. John White, of Warren County, Greeting:

You are hereby appointed a Commissioner for and on behalf of the State of North Carolina, to visit Europe and negotiate for the sale of Cotton Bonds of the said State and of the Confederate States of America, by virtue of authority vested in me by the General Assembly of North Carolina to clothe and equip her troops in the armies of the Confederate States, and You are further authorized to purchase supplies with the money thus raised, or in any other way you may be able to do so. All your official acts, done in pursuance of this authority, will be valid and binding on the said State of North Carolina.

In witness whereof Zebulon B. Vance, our governor and Commander-in-Chief hath signed these presents, and caused our Great seal to be affixed thereto.

Done at our City of Raleigh on the First day of November, A.D., one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.

[Signed] Zebulon B. Vance¹

¹ Zebulon B. Vance to John White, November 1, 1862, *The Papers of Zebulon B. Vance*. Ed. Frontis W. Johnson and Joe A. Mobley. 2 volumes to date. (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1963-), vol. 1, 288-289.

Appendix C

Terms of Cotton Bonds Sold in Europe

After having acknowledged the payment to the State of North Carolina of one hundred pounds, (the State of North Carolina was) bound ... to deliver to the holder thereof twelve bales of cotton which were to weigh four hundred pounds each; ginned, packed, and in sound merchantable condition at the port of Wilmington, Charleston, or Savannah or if practicable, at any other port in possession of the Confederate States Government, except the ports of Texas, on receiving sixty days notice of the port at which delivery was required, said bonds bear interest at the rate of 7 per cent per annum, payable half yearly in Manchester and reckoned from the first of July 1863.²

¹ Walter Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina 1861-1865* (Goldsboro, 1901), vol. 5, 453-454.

Appendix D

Contract between Alexander Collie & Company and the State of North Carolina

"With the view of carrying out efficiently the business indicated in the preceding letter of 1st instant, it is hereby agreed by Alexander Collie, for himself and friends, on one part, and John White, of North Carolina, for the governor of that State, on the other part, that Alexander Collie will furnish four steamers of suitable construction and speed, as soon as practicable; that one-fourth interest in each of these steamers will belong to the government of North Carolina, three-fourths owned by Alexander Collie and friends. The government will pay their share of the costs and outfit of such steamers by cotton-warrants (Manchester issue), at par, and the working expenses of such steamers will be paid by the respective owners, in their due proportion; that is, one-fourth of the working expenses will be paid by the government of North Carolina, and three-fourths by the other owners; and if from any sufficient cause it should be deemed prudent to sell any of the steamers, the net proceeds of such sale, or any money earned, in the shape of freight, will be duly credited in like proportion. Under this contract the 'Hansa' and the 'Don,' both most excellent boats, now running between Wilmington and the islands, will, on next arriving at the islands, be made over to the State, in the proportion of one-fourth interest in each; and these steamers will be charged, 20,000 sterling for the 'Hansa,' and 20,000 sterling for the 'Don,' this

being the estimated total cost price of each at the islands, and considerably under the estimated value. Another screw-steamer, similar to the 'Ceres,' will be ready for sea in about four weeks, and in about two months the fourth will be dispatched. By this arrangement, the chief objects sought to be obtained are,--

"First, To supply railway iron¹ and rolling-stock, and such other articles as may be needed by the State, at a moderate rate of freight, and in regular quantities.

"Second, To run out regularly a quantity of cotton for the State, to enable it to benefit from the very high prices ruling here.

"Third, To reduce the risk of capture as much as possible by dividing the interest of the government over four or more steamers. In order to secure the greater economy, and the more efficient working facilities, the working management of the steamers will rest in the hands of Alexander Collie & Co., who, as representing the larger proportion, will appoint the captains and officers; but no important steps, such as disposing of any of the steamers, or replacing any of them, or adding to their number, will be undertaken without the full knowledge and consent of Mr. White, the special commissioner here. Under this arrangement, the parties interested will have the benefit of a well-trained and experienced staff of men, at all points, and the government of the State, on its part, will give all the aid in its power to the efficient working of the business now

¹ In a letter dated December 28, 1863, Vance informed Collie that he wished that his portion of the contract be reworded from railway iron to say army supplies, bacon, or such other articles as the State may desire to import.

inaugurated. It will give all the aid it can do to get transportation of cotton from the interior when required, and it will guarantee the undertaking from any restrictions or impediments being thrown in the way of full cargoes being obtained for each steamer of cotton or other produce with the least possible delay. The inward carrying-power of the steamer from the islands will be at the service of the State, at the rate of 5 per ton, payable at the islands, for railway iron and rolling-stock (one-fourth of which will be duly credited to the State as its interest), and arrangements will be made immediately to lay down one thousand tons of railway iron at the islands for this purpose. For fine goods, the rate will be 30 per ton.

"The government of the State will be the owners of outward cargo to the extent of one-fourth. Their cargoes will be purchased by the agents of Alexander Collie & Co., subject to the inspection of the government of the State, who will be debited for one-fourth of the amount, and on safe arrival in England one-fourth of the proceeds will be duly credited to the State. The commission chargeable on this business will be the usual one of two and a half per cent on purchases and realizing, and five per cent on ships' disbursements, in addition to the usual brokerage, and such charges as incurred at the islands for transshipment and storing. The government will of course have the option of putting on board their own shares of the cotton; but for many reasons this is hardly desirable. If they do so, however, the buying commission of two and a half per cent will be avoided. In cases when Alexander Collie & Co. come under cash advances for account of the State (in place of putting the cotton-warrants in the market), Alexander Collie &

Co. will be entitled to a further commission of two and a half per cent for the amount of such advance,-interest at the rate of five per cent to be charged, and the same rate to be allowed when there is cash in hand. This agreement to be in force till the steamers are sold, captured, or destroyed.”

[Signed] ALEXANDER COLLIE

[Signed] JOHN WHITE¹

¹ *Find Law for Legal Professionals*, 2005, <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=us&vol=97&invol=3>. (2 March 2005).